EDITORIAL FOREWARD

In the spring of 1964 Alan E. Samuel, a young ancient historian in Yale University's Department of Classics, sat down at his typewriter to compose brief introductory remarks for the first installment of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* (now *BASP* 1, 1963-64), an account of the fledgling Society's activities since its founding in 1961. These paragraphs formed the opening portion of a 28-page typescript which was then duplicated and mailed to the existing two dozen members of the organization at that time. This first, newsletter-like fascicle of the *Bulletin* is filled with the impressive array of information about papyrologically-related activities in the United States over the previous three years which Samuel and his colleagues C. Bradford Welles and John Oates, the three prime movers in the creation of the Society, had assembled and, in many cases, initiated. The material includes a full list of members (ranging from such senior figures as Herbert Youtie, Naphtali Lewis, and William Willis, to university graduate students and interested faculty of theological seminaries), synopses of dissertations in progress, an outline of a plan for the publication of papyri housed in smaller U.S. colleges and libraries, notices pertaining to the Association Internationale de Papyrologues, and transcripts of scholarly communications delivered at the Society's earliest annual meetings held in conjunction with the American Philological Association. Many of the transcripts had been typed up by the three Yale professors themselves on the basis of tapes that they had made during the sessions, and several of the papers are concerned with topics, such as the Romanization of the Greek East, which are indeed important for papyrological studies but which have much broader implications as well.

Reading this first issue, one gets a sense of the organizers' excitement at the creation of a brand-new society that would link American scholars of papyrology together and provide for communication among them and among papyrologists in general. In subsequent issues the Secretary/Editor promises rapid publication of contributions to the *Bulletin* by members, and Welles, the President, graciously notes the presence of a European papyrological scholar giving a paper at annual meetings. Indeed, it would not be long before the Society, with cooperation from papyrologists from abroad, would create a series of summer seminars for junior scholars and would initiate a monograph series which today numbers over 40 volumes, including contributions on Demotic and Coptic texts, Biblical studies, administrative and social history, religion, and magic as well as "standard" papyrology of the Greek documentary and literary variety.

The present volume of *BASP* marks the fortieth year of existence of the journal's parent organization, the American Society of Papyrologists. Interestingly, the above-mentioned preface of 1964 expressed the opinion that the *Bulletin* "is not intended to be a journal, and with good fortune it never will become one." In spite of this disclaimer, matters changed very soon: by the following year the *Bulletin*, responding to the international dearth of periodicals devoted to papyrology during those years, was being printed in 500 copies, was being subscribed to by libraries, and included articles of modest size. Since that time *BASP* has evolved as a scholarly periodical with a diversity of content that the founders could scarcely have imagined. The genesis and early history of the journal are tied inextricably to the beginnings of the Society and to its goals of disseminating knowledge and creating a community of scholars. Although a considerable number of the founding members of the Society are still living and are productive researchers, early issues of the *Bulletin* such as those alluded to above provide the best concentrated documentary source of information about the origins and purpose of the Society. As the journal, now firmly rooted in an age of electronic communication and online resources, plans for its next decades of service as a vehicle of scholarship for papyrologists, documentary and literary historians, and others concerned with the languages, religions, and cultures of Greco-Roman Egypt, an acknowledgement of the debt we owe to the events which unfolded in New Haven, Connecticut some four decades ago seems appropriate. We would do well to look to the example of these pioneers of the Society, papyrological entrepreneurs of the 1960s.

The present volume contains publications and republications of texts (pp. 5-62), essays on several aspects of Graeco-Roman Egypt (pp. 63-134), reviews of recently published books (pp. 135-59), with an addendum to a recently published monograph (pp. 161-72). Contributions in all sections are arranged alphabetically by author name.

Once again the present issue was produced camera-ready in the Papyrology Rooms, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, on a Mac G4 computer and was printed on a Hewlett-Packard LaserJet 5000GN at 1200 dpi. The editors wish to express their thanks to this institution for making its facilities available to the journal. Thanks are also due to the Dorot foundation for its generous financial support, which made possible the inclusion of a color image, for the first time, in this issue of the *Bulletin* (Plate 6).

THE EDITORS

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 38 (2001) 7-20

Household Accounts: *SB* I 5224 Revised

P.Hawara inv. 245=	10.6 cm x 44.6 cm	I/II C.E.
SB I 5224*		Provenance Unknown

Below we publish a new, revised text of an account of expenses, long known and cited as P.Hawara inv. 245 = *SB* 5224. The papyrus is now P.Yale inv. 19 (see *P.Yale* II, p. xvi). Our revision of this text originated in an attempt to verify the supposed reading in the papyrus of the rare word ἐπιούϲιοϲ, well known from the Lord's Prayer, but in documents supposedly attested only in this text. That check (with a negative result; see M. Nijman and K. A. Worp, "An Attestation of N.T. ΕΠΙΟΥϹΙΟϹ in a Documentary Papyrus ?" *Novum Testamentum* 41 [1999] 231-4) was made on the basis of a xerox of the text provided by A. Crislip to K.A. Worp. At the same time it was noticed that the first edition was not up to modern standards and contained many mistakes and errors. We therefore undertook a complete re-edition of the text. This was based initially on several visits to New Haven by R.S. Bagnall; work on the text was completed together during a visit by Worp in July, 1999.

Instead of the separate line count in each column printed in the *ed.pr.*, we have used a continuous line count. We have also replaced the conventions of the first edition with standard Leiden Convention practice. (Most importantly, the original editor used square brackets where today we use round ones to mark abbreviations.) Finally, we note that after line 3 there is only one lost line, rather than the two indicated in the *ed.pr.*; consequently, lines 6 and following in the *ed.pr.* are numbered below as lines 5 ff.

As was noted already in the article by Nijman and Worp referred to above, the first editor of the text, A.J. Sayce, wrote in 1889: "English housekeepers may be interested in knowing what was the daily expenditure of an Egyptian official some fourteen

* For an image see http://inky.library.yale.edu/papyrimg/Z4183627.jpg

hundred years ago;" later scholars assumed, therefore, that the papyrus dates from the fifth century of our era. The text's handwriting, however, is that of a documentary hand of the first to second century. In fact, drachmas and obols do not occur as late as the fifth century C.E.; cf. the observations made in *ZPE* 90 (1992) 234-5 and in *P.Kell.* I Gr. 28.4n.

The text apparently is an account of daily expenses for various commodities and other purposes. Unfortunately, however, the correct and full understanding of the opening lines of the text, esp. lines 2-4, is anything but clear to us. On Mecheir 19 (cf. line 1), apparently, after presenting some arithmetical calculations adding and subtracting amounts of drachmas, a scribe wrote an itemized account concerning expenses made previously for purchasing various commodities in the period Mecheir 1-18. The part of the account containing expenses made for Mecheir 9-12 is apparently lost in the part of the papyrus which has broken off at the bottom of column 1.

The dimensions of the surviving sheet are 10.6 wide by 44.6 cm high. It is made up of two pieces, the first 33.5 cm high, to the bottom of which was attached a second piece 11.1 cm high. The first column extends to both pieces, while the second ends at the border between the first and the second pieces. The sheet was turned so that the writing runs lengthwise across the fibers. The margin at the left averages 1.3 cm (day numbers project to the left in the margin), that at the right 2.0 cm.

On the back of the account there are many offsets of letters; these are the mirror images of letters belonging to another account which is now lost. Taking these into account together with the orientation of the writing, it seems to us most likely that the present papyrus was fashioned by gluing together two pieces of unwritten or almost unwritten papyrus from already-used rolls. Why the writer chose to write across the fibers and with the long dimension of the papyrus oriented vertically, we do not know.

Μεχεὶρ ι̅θ̅
ἔcχεc (δραχμὰc) κ καὶ παρcαβε( ) (δρ.) μ̣ καὶ παρ( ) (δρ.) κ.
ọṃ(οίωc) κα. . ( ) . . . (δρ.) δ . . . αι ọṃ(οίωc) (δρ.) ιδ (δρ.) η (γίν.) (δρ.) ϙβ (πεντώβ.)
. . δρ . . . τοc

	περcẹọụ	(δρ.) α ⟦διώβ.⟧ (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)	For persea fruit (?), 1 dr. 4.5 ob.
	χαρτạρịọụ	(τετρώβ.)	For papyrus, 4 ob.
	.λ.αμι.	(τετρώβ.)	For --, 4 ob.
	ἥπατοc	(διώβ.)	For liver, 2 ob.
β̄	ἐρεβί(ν)θ(ων)	(διώβ.)	On the 2nd, for chick-peas, 2 ob.
	καλα(μ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
	κυάμ(ου)	(τριώβ.)	For beans, 3 ob.
	καλα(μ)	(ọβ̣.) (ἡμιοβ.)	For --, 1.5 ob.
	(γίν.)	(δρ.) α (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)	Total 1 dr. 4.5 ob.
γ	κρέοc	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 3rd, for meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
	κεφαλ( )	(ὀβ.)	For head --, 1 ob.
	cạγṃ( )	(ὀβ.)	For --, 1 ob.
	ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)θ(ων)	(τετρώβ.)	For chick-peas, 4 ob.
	καλαμ( )	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
	(γίν.)	(δρ.) β ϛ (ὀβ.)	Total 2 dr. 6 ob.
δ̄	κρέοc	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 4th, for meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)θ(ων)	(τετρώβ.)	For chick-peas, 4 ob.
	καλαμ( )	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.

		ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
		γλυκ( )	(ἡμιοβ.)	For must (?), 0.5 ob.
28		καλα(μ)	(ἡμιοβ.)	For --, 0.5 ob.
		ξύλ[ο]ụ	(ὀβ.)	For wood, 1 ob.
		ạγγειδ(ίου)	(ἡμιοβ.)	For a small jar, 0.5 ob.
		cεμιδ(άλεωc)	(ὀβ.)	For wheaten flour, 1 ob.
32		ἐλαίου	(τετρώβ.)	For oil, 4 ob.
		⟦(γίν.)	(δρ.) γ⟧	⟦Total 3 dr.⟧
		(γίν.)	(δρ.) γ (διώβ.)	Total 3 dr. 2 ob.
	ε¯	κρ[έ]ọc̣	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 5th, for meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
36		ạṃμηγ(ίαc)	(τριώβ.)	For sebakh transport, 3 ob.
		λαχά(νων)	(ὀβ.)	For vegetables, 1 ob.
		καλα(μ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
		χύτρα(c)	(ὀβ.)	For an earthen pot, 1 ob.
40		ἁλμ(υρίδοc)	(ἡμιοβ.)	For pickle, 0.5 ob.
		ἀρτιδ̣(ίων)	(ὀβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)	For bread, 1.5 ob.
		ἐρεβί(ν)θ(ων)	(τριώβ.)	For chick-peas, 3 ob.
		ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
44		(γίν.)	(δρ.) γ (διώβ.)	Total 3 dr. 2 ob.
	ς̄	ὀρνείθ(ων)	(δρ.) δ	On the 6th, for fowl, 4 dr.
		κρέοc	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	For meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
		ἁλμ(υρίδοc)	(τετρώβ.)	For pickle, 4 ob.
48		κεφαλ( )	(ὀβ.)	For head --, 1 ob.
		ἀρcενικ(οῦ)	(τετρώβ.)	For arsenic, 4 ob.
		καλα(μ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
		ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
52		ọ̣ῶν	(ὀβ.) ς	For eggs, 6 ob.
		ἐρεβί(ν)θων	(τριώβ.)	For chick-peas, 3 ob.
		ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
		ἐμοὶ	(τετρώβ.)	For myself, 4 ob.

56		ζιμαίου	(ἡμιοβ.)	For --, 0.5 ob.
		. . . .	(ἡμιοβ.)	For --, 0.5 ob.
		ζύτου	(ἡμιοβ.)	For beer, 0.5 ob.
		(γίν.) (δρ.) ϑ̣ (διώβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)		Total 9 dr. 2.5 ob.
60	ζ	ἄ̣ρτ̣ω̣ν̣ . . . ( )	(δρ.) δ	On the 7th, for – bread, 4 dr.
		σαγμ̣( ) . . .	(δρ.) δ	For --, 4 dr.
		συμβολ( ) κο̣μ̣( )	(δρ.) δ	For --, 4 dr.
		κρέος	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	For meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
64		ὀψαρίου	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	For fish, 1 dr. 1 ob.
		κεφαλ( )	(ἡμιοβ.)	For head --, 0.5 ob.
		ἐράκου	(διώβ.)	For wild chickling, 2 ob.
		λαχά(νων)	(ὀβ.)	For vegetables, 1 ob.
68		οἰάλου	(διώβ.)	For glass, 2 ob.
		ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
		(γίν.) (δρ.) ις (τριώβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)		Total 16 dr. 3.5 ob.
	η	κρέος	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 8th, for meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
72		ὀψαρίου	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	For fish, 1 dr. 1 ob.
		ἀσπαρ̣(άγου)	(διώβ.)	For asparagus, 2 ob.
		καλαμ( )	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
		κυάμο(υ)	(ἡμιοβ.)	For beans, 0.5 ob.
76		ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
		ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ(ων)	(τριώβ.)	For chick-peas, 3 ob.
		------------------------------		----------------------------

Col. II

	ιγ	[. . .]	(τετρώβ.)	On the 13th, for --, 4 ob.
		[ἐ]λ̣[αί]ο̣υ̣	(τετρώβ.)	For oil, 4 ob.
80		ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ(ων)	(διώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
		καλ(αμ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
		κεφ(αλ)	(ὀβ.)	For head --, 1 ob.
		(γίν.) (δρ.) α, ϛ (ὀβ.)		Total 1 dr. 6 ob.

ιδ̣	. . . [ ]	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 14th for --, 1 dr. 1 ob.
	οἴνου	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	For wine, 1 dr. 1 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ(ων)	(διώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
	καλα(μ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἐλαίο(υ)	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
	(γ̣ί̣ν̣.)	. . . . .	Total (?) –
ιε¯	ἐλαίου {ο}⟦μ̣ (π̣ε̣ν̣τ̣οβ.)⟧ (ὀβ.) ς		On the 15th for oil, 6 (<5) ob.
	ἐρεβ(ίνϑων)	(διώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
	καλ(αμ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
	(γίν.) (δρ.) α, (τετρώβ.)		Total 1 dr. 4 ob.
ις	κρέοϲ	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	On the 16th, for meat, 1 dr. 1 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ̣(ων)	(διώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
	ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
	ϲεύτ(λων)	(ἡμιοβ.)	For beets, 0.5 ob.
	καλα̣(μ)	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἐλαίου	(π̣ε̣ν̣τ̣ώβ.)	For oil, 5 ob.
	(γίν.) (δρ.) β, (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιοβ.)		Total 2 dr. 4.5 ob.
ιζ	κρέοϲ	(τετρώβ.)	On the 17th, for meat, 4 ob.
	ὀ̣ψαρ(ίων)	(τετρώβ.)	For fish, 4 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ(ων)	(δ̣ι̣ώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
	ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.
	καλαμ( )	(διώβ.)	For --, 2 ob.
	ἐλαίου	(τετρώβ.)	For oil, 4 ob.
	ϲτεφαν( )	(διώβ.)	To Stephanos (or for a crown), 2 ob.
	(γίν.) (δρ.) β (πεντώβ.)		Total 2 dr. 5 ob.
ιη	καλαμ( )	(διώβ.)	On the 18th, for --, 2 ob.
	ἐρεβί(ν)ϑ(ων)	(διώβ.)	For chick-peas, 2 ob.
	ἀρτιδ(ίων)	(ὀβ.)	For bread, 1 ob.

ἐλαίου	(τριώβ.)	For oil, 3 ob.
	(γίν.) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)	Total 1 dr. 1 ob.

2 (δρ.) μ: μ prob. ex λϑ 6 *Ed.pr.*: χάρτου 7 *Ed.pr.*: κυαμω[ν] 8 *Ed.pr.*: (ὀβ.) 9 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβίνϑ[ων] 13 *Ed.pr.*: (τριώβ.) 14 *Ed.pr.*: (δρ.) κε (δρ.) 15 et alibi: l. κρέως; *Ed.pr.* om. (ὀβ.) 17 *Ed.pr.*: [ ] 18 *Ed.pr.*: ἀλήατος 19 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβίνϑ[ων] 22 *Ed.pr.*: (δρ.) κη (ὀβ.) 23 *Ed.pr.* om. (ὀβ.) 24 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβίνϑ[ων] 27 *Ed.pr.*: γλιμ. 29 *Ed.pr.*: [ ], .5 ob. 30 *Ed.pr.*: . . . 31 *Ed.pr.*: συκεῖα 33 *Ed.pr.* om. ⟦ ⟧ 35 *Ed.pr.*: ὀρ[νείϑεων] 36 *Ed.pr.*: δαπάνη[ς] [1.5 ob.] 37 *Ed.pr.*: χαρτιδ[ίου] 40 *Ed.pr.*: ἁλὸς 41 *Ed.pr.*: ἀλή[ατος], (ὀβ.) 42 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβίνϑ[ων] 45 *Ed.pr.*: ὀρνείϑ[εων] 47 *Ed.pr.*: ἁλὸς, (τριώβ.) 49 *Ed.pr.*: ἀρτυτικ[ῶν], (τριώβ.) 50 *Ed.pr.*: (ὀβ.) 51 *Ed.pr.*: (διώβ.) 52 *Ed.pr.*: (ὀβ.) (ἡμιοβ.) 53 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβίνϑ[ων] 56 *Ed.pr.*: ζωαρί[ου] (= "for a pet-dog;" *SB* I 5224: ζωαρί[ων]), γ 57 *Ed.pr.*: ὁ ἅμα (= "the man with it") 58 *Ed.pr.*: ὄνου 59 *Ed.pr.*: (δρ.) ιβ 60 *Ed.pr.*: [ ] 61 *Ed.pr.*: σαγεσφ[όρου] 62 *Ed.pr.*: συλλογ[ῆς] κίλ[λων] 64 First ο corr. ex α 66 l. ἀράκου; *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβ[ίνϑων] 68 l. ὑάλου; *Ed.pr.*: [σ]ιάλου 70 *Ed.pr.*: (δρ.) ις, (τετρώβ.) 78 *Ed.pr.*: (ὀβ.) 79 *Ed.pr.*: ἐλαίου (τριώβ.) 80 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρ[ε]βί[νϑων] 83 *Ed.pr.*: (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) (ἡμιοβ.) 85 *Ed.pr.*: οἴνο[υ] (δρ.) γ¯ (*SB* I 5224: =) 86 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβ[ίνϑων] 87 *Ed.pr.*: κα[λάμων] 89 *Ed.pr.*: // κη (?) 90 *Ed.pr.*: ἐπιουσί[ων] 91 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβ[ίνϑων] 95 *Ed.pr.*: κείλο[υ] 96 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβ[ίνϑων] 98 *Ed.pr.*: σεύτ[λου] 100 *Ed.pr.*: ὀρύζας 102 *Ed.pr.*: κείλο[υ] (τριώβ.) 103 *Ed.pr.*: ὀρύζας 104 *Ed.pr.*: ἐρεβ[ίνϑων] 107 *Ed.pr.*: (τριώβ.) 111 *Ed.pr.*: βρώμα[τος] 114 *Ed.pr.*: (διώβ.)

We give below in alphabetical order a table of the objects of expenditure, indicating on which days they are found, followed by line references. Following that are notes on some of the items in this alphabetical list.

Product	**Day(s) of recorded expenditure**	**Line(s)**
ἀγγείδιον	4	30
ἁλμυρίς	5, 6	40, 47
ἀμμηγία	5	36
ἄρακος	7	66
ἀρτίδιον	3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, 18	18, 26, 41, 51, 93, 97, 105, 112
ἄρτος . . . ( )	7	60
ἀρσενικόν	6	49
ἀσπάραγος	8	73
γλυκ( )	4	27

ἔλαιον	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	11, 21, 32, 43, 54, 69, 76, 79, 88, 90, 100, 107, 113
ἐγώ (ἐμοί)	6	55
ἐρέβινθος	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	9, 19, 24, 42, 53, 77, 80, 86, 91, 96, 104, 111
ζιμαίου	6	56
ζῦτος	6	58
ἧπαρ	1	8
καλαμ(οτόμος ?)	2 (2x), 3, 4 (2x), 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	10, 13, 20, 25, 28, 38, 50, 74, 81, 87, 92, 99, 106, 110
κεφαλ( )	3, 6, 7, 13	16, 48, 65, 82
κρέας	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16, 17	15, 23, 35, 46, 63, 71, 95, 102
κύαμος	2, 8	12, 75
λάχανον	5, 7	37, 67
ξύλον	4	29
οἶνος	14	85
ὄρνις	6	45
ὀψάριον	7, 8, 17	64, 72, 103
πέρσειον	1	5
σαγμ(α)	3, 7	17, 61
σεῦτλον	16	98
στεφαν( )	17	108
σεμίδαλις	4	31
συμβολ( ) κọμ( )	7	62
ὕαλος	7	68
χαρτάριον	1	6
χύτρα	5	39
ᾠόν	6	52
. . .	1, 6, 13, 14	7, 57, 78, 84

Most of the expenses turn out to have been made for purchasing various kinds of foodstuff (on which, in general, cf. J. Wilkins et al. *Food in Antiquity* [Exeter 1995]), but there also expenses for buying commodities like glass, wood, buckets, papyrus, for paying services like the transport of sebakh (ἀμμηγία), and expenses of a more or less personal nature (cf. line 55, "to myself;" cf. line 108, where one might translate "to Stephanos").

Various agricultural products mentioned in this list are well known; cf., e.g., M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich 1925) 185 ff. (for ἄρακος = "wild chickling"), 189 (for ἐρέβινθος = "chick-pea"), 186 and 193 (for κύαμος = "bean"), 210 (for λάχανον = "vegetables"). Apparently, Schnebel does not discuss the term σεῦτλον (τεῦτλον) = "beet," though already in his time beets were mentioned in two published papyri (i.e. *BGU* IV 1120.12 and *P.Lond.* III 964.12 [pp. 211-2]. Later came *P.Mich.* VIII 496.16 and XI 619.2, 3, 25, 26; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 44.4; *P.Sarap.* 66.19; *SB* XVI 12515.20, *O. Berenike* I 87.7, and *O.Claud.* I 150.3; cf. also the diminutive form σεύτλιον in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59608.26 and 59702.26; *P.IFAO* III 37.32, and *P.Ryl.* IV 639.98).

Apparently there is no specific papyrological monograph on the production and consumption of proteins in the form of fish (ὀψάριον), meat (κρέας), fowl/poultry (ὄρνις) or eggs (ᾠά). In general, see J. Wilkins, *op.cit.*, Part 2, 102-70; for the subject of fowl (ὄρνις), see Schnebel, *op.cit.*, 341. On the other hand, on various aspects of vine growing in the papyri there is a vast literature; for basic facts, see Schnebel, *op.cit.*, Sachregister s.v. "Weinbau" (p. 364). More recent literature can be found in E. Jakab, "Guarantee and Jars in Sales of Wine on Delivery," *JJP* 29 (1999) 22-44, and E. Kislinger, "Zum Weinhandel in frühbyzantinischer Zeit," *Tyche* 14 (1999) 141-56. For the terminology found in our text related to various types of wheat used for bread making and baking, see E. Battaglia, *Artos. Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (Milano 1989), passim, and in particular pp. 73 s.v. ἀρτίδιον, 248 s.v. ἄρτος, 251 s.v. σεμίδαλις. For ἔλαιον = "oil," see D. Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*. BASP Suppl. 6 (Atlanta 1989).

Often the same (or almost the same) amount of expenditure for a certain commodity is recorded throughout the account, e.g.:

ἀρτίδιον = "bread" usually costs 1 ob., except in l. 41 (day 5): 1.5 ob. At the same time note l. 60, 4 dr. for some type of ἄρτος.

ἔλαιον = "oil" usually costs 3 ob., except in lines 32, 79, and 107 (4 ob.), while 5 ob. are indicated in l. 100 and even 6 ob. (corrected from 5 [?] ob.) in l. 90.

ἐρέβινθος = "chick-peas" cost 2 ob. in ll. 9, 80, 86, 91, 96, 104, 111; 3 ob. in ll. 42, 53, 77; 4 ob. in ll. 19, 24.

κρέας = "meat" usually costs 1 dr. 1 ob., but in l. 102 only 4 ob., i.e. half the regular price. Given the fact that payments of 1 dr. 1 ob. for meat are often recorded as the first entry for any specific day (cf. ll. 15, 23, 35, 71, 95, 102; only during days 6 and 7, ll. 46, 63, does meat not occur in the first place), one may perhaps restore some form of κρέας (abbreviated ?) in ll. 78 (expense of 4 ob.) and 84 (expense of 1 dr. 1 ob.); but these restorations are completely hypothetical.

λάχανον = "vegetables" costs, on the two occasions that the item occurs (ll. 37, 67), 1 ob.

ὀψάριον = "fish" yields prices at the same level as κρέας; ll. 64 and 72 record expenses at 1 dr. 1 ob., but l. 103 has a payment of 4 ob. (we have restored the abbreviated noun as plural here).

For the other expenses we have fewer steady price indications or the nature of the expenditure is uncertain. ἁλμυρίς = "pickle" (in l. 40; cf. l. 57n.) costs 0.5 ob. in l. 40, 4 ob. in l. 47; we may be dealing with varying quantities costing varying amounts of money. Likewise, for κύαμοι = "beans" there is no fixed amount per purchase; cf. ll. 12 (day 2): 3 ob, and 75 (day 8): 0.5 ob.

On the other hand, expenses made for καλ( ) / καλα( ) / καλαμ( ) are quite frequent, in fact on almost a daily basis (for the moment the entries of days 9-12 are lost, and there is no entry for this purpose under day 7). Usually, the category costs 2 ob., except in ll. 13 (1.5 ob.) and 28 (0.5 ob.); in both cases an additional payment of 2 ob. is recorded for the same days (2 and 4). The question is how the abbreviation should be resolved. If one restores κάλαμος = "reeds," one has to assume that for some unspecified use reeds were bought on a daily basis, but that does not seem likely. At any rate, the use of reeds for human consumption is apparently not recorded in Egypt (for India, however, see Aelian, *Var.Hist.* III 39). Likewise, a resolution of, e.g., καλαμαία = "grasshopper" does not seem really attractive ("2 ob. per diem for breaded grasshoppers" ?). More likely

seems the assumption that in this case one is dealing with daily payments of wages to, e.g., a καλαμοτόμος (= "reed cutter") or a καλαμουργός (= "reed worker;" cf. καλαμουργία, καλαμουργέω). That, however, provokes the counter-argument that these substantives are not (or are scarcely) attested to date.

Likewise, the meaning of the category κεφαλ( ) is not clear; Preisigke, *WB* I s.v. κεφαλή interprets that noun's occurrence in this list as "Tierkopf für Speise," but—depending upon one's talents for constructing an imaginative scenario (e.g.: κεφαλαλγίας = "for a headache" ?)—any word beginning with κεφαλ- (cf. *LSJ* 944-6) can be considered. For this category we find expenses of 1 ob. three times (ll. 16, 48, 82) versus 0.5 ob. only in l. 65.

For all these price indications in general, see H.J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im Römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1991) passim. The present papyrus is referred to there as "P.Hawara 245" (see the index of papyri used, p. 480; there is no reference to *SB* I 5224).

Notes on particular lines

2 After "you got 20 drachmas" the meaning is unclear. Nor is it evident who the "you" of ἔσχες is.

4 We have considered reading ἀ̣ν̣δρι̣ά̣ν̣τος, but the first alpha would be really difficult and the other letters are not very convincing either. To be sure, a reading τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ δρά̣κ̣ο̣ν̣τος seems equally problematic.

5 No indication of the first day (α) of the month of Mecheir is visible, but this is possibly due to seriously damaged ink.

As the omission of an intervocalic iota should not pose a real problem, our reading περσε̣ο̣υ̣ would seem compatible with the genitive of the noun πέρσειον = "fruit of the persea tree." It is, however, true that 1 dr. 4.5 ob. is a lot of money for purchasing fruit.

6 For all kinds of aspects of the papyrus plant and its various uses, particularly as writing material (χαρτάριον), the classic discussion remains that of N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974); for χαρτάριον, see esp. 77 ff. A supplement to this

appeared as *Pap.Brux.* 23 (Brussels 1989); for χαρτάριον, see esp. 34.

7 At first we thought about reading κ̣υ̣αμίο̣υ̣, the genitive of the diminutive form of κύαμοϲ (attested in Greek only rarely; cf. *LSJ* s.v.), but we are not comfortable with it. Likewise, comparing Lat. "salgamum" we considered reading ϲ̣αλ̣γαμι– (–λγ– being a slightly more attractive reading than the upsilon of κυ̣αμι–), but we are not satisfied with the reading of the first two letters as ϲ̣α̣–. At the end of the word one may read –κ̣( ) practically as well as an open –ω̣.

8 There is no day total indicated after this line, as there is for the other days.

14 For accounting purposes (additions) throughout this text use is made of a "7-obol" drachma. This is a practice applied when it is necessary to convert bronze single drachmas of 6 obols into tetradrachms of "silver," which are generally calculated as having 28 or 29 obols, i.e. with an agio vs. the bronze currency unit. For this subject, see now K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber.* Pap.Col. 25 (Opladen 1996) 112 ff.

17 We cannot say whether we are dealing with ϲάγμα (= "saddle") or one of its compounds. The word also occurs in l. 61. The very different amounts (1 ob. and 4 dr.) might not encourage the notion that we are dealing with commensurate goods, and it may be that one or both of these payments were made to saddlers, and that we should restore an occupational title (ϲαγματᾶϲ, ϲαγματοποιόϲ, ϲαγματοράφοϲ, all occur in Preisigke, *WB*). The one price for a saddle listed in Drexhage, *op.cit.*, 401, however, is for 2 dr. (*SB* X 10241 of 45 C.E.). As saddles probably varied considerably in character and quality, 4 dr. certainly seems like a reasonable saddle price here. The smaller figure, however, is difficult to interpret satisfactorily as a price for an object.

30 For the term ἀγγείδιον, see P. Radici Colace, *Lexicon Vasorum Graecorum* I (Pisa 1992) 57.

34 The result of the addition is 0.5 ob. too high.

39 For prices of χύτραι in the papyri, cf. H.J. Drexhage, *op.cit.*, 383. An obol for such an item is quite common during the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt.

40 According to *P.Oxy.* IV 736.73 ἁλμυρίς = "pickle;" it is translated as "Zalztunke" in Preisigke, *WB* s.v. and as "Brassica cretica" in *LSJ* s.v. Cf. above, p. 17.

49 U. Horak discusses the use of arsenic as a pigment in *Tyche* 13 (1998) 122-3.

56 Obviously, the reading and interpretation of the *ed.pr.* cannot stand, but we do not know what the word ζιμαιου (gen.) stands for: possibly, T. Renner suggests, an otherwise unattested adjective ζυμαῖος from ζύμη, leaven or yeast.

57 The reading and interpretation of the *ed.pr.* cannot stand, but we cannot arrive at a convincing reading. We have considered readings like ελκα / ελβα / αλκυ / αλμυ (leading towards ἁλμυ(ρίδος ?); cf. note to l. 40, where also a half-obol is paid), but we cannot convince ourselves that any of these is satisfactory.

60 Following ἄρτων there seems to be a qualifying adjective, but we have not succeeded in identifying it with the help of E. Battaglia, *op.cit.*

61 See note to l. 17.

68 The subject of glass (ὕαλος) in the papyri known up to his time is discussed by Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig 1913) 47 ff. There is, of course, sufficient new material to warrant a new study, but this is not the place to undertake it. On glass in the Roman period, see now E.M. Stern's study in *AJA* 103 (1999) 441-84.

70 The result of the addition should be 15 dr. 3.5 ob., i.e. 1 dr. less.

73 The ρ has been corrected (into γ ?); we cannot tell exactly what the writer had in mind in correcting the letter, which has a small diagonal stroke. We know of no discussion of the growing of asparagus in Egypt, but there are some ten references to be found in the DDBDP.

89 We see nothing in the ink traces that correspond to the expected total amount of 3 dr. 2 ob.

90 It is difficult to tell what the function of the omicron after ἐλαίου was to be: did the scribe intend to start a word like ὁμοίως (but this is not used anywhere else in the text)? Vice versa, if we could read ἐλαίου οβ̣, one could see here the beginning of the word ὀβολός written out in full (rather than as a symbol) followed by a numeral.

100 The reading of the *ed.pr.*, ὀρύζας is unlikely because there was no rice culture in Roman Egypt; cf. Schnebel, *op.cit.*, 100 (*ibid.* he discusses also the date of this papyrus in a long note) and now R.T.J. Cappers, "A Botanical Contribution to the Analysis of Subsistence and Trade at Berenike (Red Sea Coast, Egypt)," in O.E. Kaper (ed.), *Life on the Fringe. Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods.* CNWS Publications 71 (Leiden 1998) 75-86, esp. at 86. Imports of rice into the heartland of Egypt do not seem likely.

108 We do not know whether we should regard στεφαν( ) as a common noun or as a personal name (i.e. read Στεφάν(ῳ) = "to Stephanus").

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A New Document from the Sempronius Dossier: A Letter from Maximus

P.Col. inv. 145 (b)	7.5 cm x 13 cm	Second half II A.D.
	Plate 1*	Arsinoite nome

The present document, acquired by H.I. Bell in 1924 from M. Nahman,[1] is now in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University.[2] It is the lower, right-hand portion of a private letter written along the fibers.

The opening formula and first part of the body of the letter have been lost. The preserved portion contains the usual closing greetings, but the sender manages to bring in several matters of importance before finally saying farewell to the recipient. On the back of the sheet, and running along the vertical fibers, a heavily abraded outside address can be read.

The papyrus deteriorated along its crease lines, a fact that can help us estimate how many lines are missing from the top portion of the letter. If the sheet was folded into quarters and then twice vertically into halves, as the surviving creases indicate, then it would have measured originally 15 cm across and 26 cm in height, a figure that comes close to the average height of a sheet of papyrus. That would mean that no more than 23 lines of text are missing from the beginning of the letter. If we also take into account the margin that would have been left at the top, the number of lines can be reduced even further. The missing portion of the papyrus to the left of the preserved text is sizable: if the supplements in lines 6 (12 letters), 8 (14 letters), 9 (11 letters) and 13 (14 letters) are correct, 13 letters

* A catalogue record and a digital image of this papyrus can be found at: http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/apis/apisquery?function=lookup&key=columbia.apis.p923

[1] Number X.19 in Bell's inventory.

[2] I would like to thank the Columbia University Libraries for kindly granting permission to publish this papyrus. I am also very grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for all his helpful comments on this article.

in average were lost from the beginning of each line. If space for a small left margin is also included in this calculation, the average width of the lacuna would come close to that of the preserved portion of the papyrus.

The handwriting is slow and slopes slightly upwards. The letters are formed individually with very few ligatures. The variation in the thickness of the strokes between the middle and the rest of the document (which at first sight would appear to point to two different hands) may be due to some trouble the writer had in handling the reed pen. For instance, compare the strokes in line 13 with those in line 17. As is the case often with other letters, he also did not stop to leave a margin on the right-hand side, but left ample space instead between the body of the letter and the closing formula at the bottom.

The personal names that appear in this document link it without any doubt to the small Sempronius dossier, first identified and collected by Bell in 1950.[3] New documents have since been discovered and added to the collection by Sijpesteijn in 1976 and Papathomas in 1996.[4] The dossier has managed to raise some attention among scholars due to its affectionate tone and above all because of the vivid *gerotrophia* the family displays towards their mother, Satornila.[5]

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[3] The following bibliography will be regularly quoted in this article:

Bell = H.I. Bell, "A Happy Family," *Aus Antike und Orient. Festschrift Wilhelm Schubart zum 75. Geburtstag* (Leipzig 1950) 38-47.

Sijpesteijn = P.J. Sijpesteijn, "A Happy Family?," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 169-81.

Papathomas = *P.Heid.* VII 400, pp. 117-26.

Hanson and van Minnen = A. Hanson and P. van Minnen, "Chapter 3: Family Matters," in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt. A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998) 143-7.

[4] Bell published five letters (**1a-4** in the table below). Sijpesteijn added five letters (**5-7b**) to the dossier and Papathomas one more (**8**). O. Montevecchi records this dossier under the name of its principal sender, Sempronius, in *La Papirologia* (Milan 1988^2) 577.

[5] Described by Hanson and van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) as "the child's nourishing of an aged parent in return for care received during helpless infancy," 144, n. 2.

In order to make reference easier, I reproduce Papathomas' table of the dossier and include the document found in the papyrus collection at Columbia as letter **9**:

Nr.	*Papyrus*	*Sender*	*Recipient*
1a	*SB* III 6263	Cεμπρώνιος	Cατορνίλα (mother)
1b			Μάξιμος (brother)
2	*P.Mich.* III 206	Λογγῖνος	Μάξιμος (brother)
3	*P.Mich.* III 209	Cατορνῖλος	Cεμπρώνιος (brother)
5	*P.Mich.* XV 751	Cεμπρώνιος	Cατορνίλα (mother)
6a	*P.Mich.* XV 752	Cεμπρώνιος	Cατορνίλα (mother)
6b			Μάξιμος (brother)
7a	*P.Wisc.* II 84	Cεμπρώνιος	Cατορνῖλος (brother)
7b			Cατορνίλα (mother)
8	*P.Heid.* VII 400	Cεμπρώνιος	Cατορνίλα (mother)
9	P.Col. inv. 145(b)	Μάξιμος	Cατορνίλα (mother)

I did not include letter **4** (*PSI* VIII 942) in the table. There has been some discussion about whether it should belong to the dossier. Bell included the letter not so much on account of the name of its sender, Maximus, but mainly because of its affectionate tone, which

he was eager to relate to the family's known fondness for each other.[6] Maximus is indeed the name of a known member of the Sempronii family. However, Maximus is a very common name, as Bell himself points out. His argument therefore is based solely on a display of affection. This is quite a dubious ground on which to include the letter in the dossier. Sijpesteijn is right in rejecting the letter along with Bell's argument.[7] Papathomas also was not convinced by Bell, but he did not remove the document from his table of the dossier.[8] Corbulo, the addressee, courteously called "brother" in the body of the letter but in fact a friend of the sender,[9] is not mentioned in any of the letters that have been positively identified as belonging to the family, although the Sempronii are much given to sending greetings even to people who do not seem to be immediate relatives.[10] The handwriting of *PSI* VIII 943 also differs significantly from that of the Columbia letter, which is written by (or for) a Maximus who can be positively identified as one of the actual brothers.[11] Therefore, it should be removed from the group of documents that can be related without a doubt to the known members of this family.

The letters of this dossier have been dated on palaeographical grounds to the late second century A.D. Although their exact provenance is unknown, several details in them point to the Arsinoite nome and to Karanis in particular. Papathomas has plausibly linked the beginning of a place name preserved in letter **8**.15 (see my table), Βουκό[, with the names of two villages in the Arsinoite nome.[12] In the present letter Bacchias, a town a few miles away from Karanis, is mentioned (**9**.10). One further piece of evidence is

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[6] Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 41.

[7] Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 169.

[8] Papathomas, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 117.

[9] Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 41.

[10] After greeting Maximus, Satornilus, Gemellus, Helen and Julius, Sempronius also sends his regards to Scythikos and Thermouthis in letters **1a** and **5**; and adds the names of Kopres and Chaeremon to his greetings in letter **5**.

[11] Professor Rosario Pintaudi has kindly provided me with a photocopy of the letter in question.

[12] *Op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 125.

the mention of a certain Socrates as a letter carrier in document **5**.10-1. Hanson and van Minnen have suggested that this man may well be the known tax collector of Karanis who lived in the second century A.D.[13]

The Columbia papyrus is written by a prominent member of the family: Maximus. Along with Satornila, he is the usual recipient of the majority of the letters written by Sempronius and is mentioned in all of the surviving letters (see also note to l. 20). He seems to have been one of the older sons of the family, if not the oldest.[14] Both Sempronius and Maximus are referred to at one time as "fathers": the former by his (surely) younger brother Satornilus, the latter by Sempronius himself. "ἤδη γὰρ πατὴρ ὀφίλεις καλεῖϲθαι," Sempronius tells Maximus (letter **1b**.24) while urging him to take strict measures if he sees one of their brothers contradicting their mother. Papathomas suggests that Maximus was perhaps the second oldest brother, who was left as the head of the household in Sempronius' absence.[15] One characteristic of the dossier that seems to confirm this assumption is that the letters written to Satornila are normally addressed to Maximus. An exception that proves the rule can be found in document **7**, addressed by Sempronius to his brothers Satornilus and Valerius. These letters were written at a time when Satornila was ill and Maximus had suffered a loss in his family that left him in great distress.[16] Besides Sempronius' normal concern for his mother's health, he takes pains to urge both his brother Satornilus and his mother to console Maximus.[17] Sempronius' heightened preoccupation with the situation back home seems to strengthen the assumption that Maximus indeed held an important position in the household.

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[13] *Op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 144, n. 1.

[14] A family tree of the Sempronii is provided as an appendix at the end of this article. For a brief description of the principal members of the family, see Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 169-71.

[15] *Op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 121.

[16] We know that Maximus was married and had daughters. The Maxima greeted in the present letter (l. 7) may be one of them. For his distress, see especially **7b**.33-4.

[17] He also included in the document a letter to Valerius (now lost, but mentioned in **7a**.12) with similar advice.

In the present letter Maximus is writing home to Satornila and greets the same people his brother Sempronius usually greets: Gemellus, Sempronius (Cyrillus), Julius and Helen (who also appear in letters **1a** and **5**, as well as in the greetings sent from home by Satornilus in letter **3**). Maximus also sends greetings from Sempronius and from Valerius, a man to whom Satornilus sends his regards from back home (letter **3**). One can conclude from these salutations that Maximus is writing to Satornila from the same location as his brother Sempronius, a place generally believed to be Alexandria.[18] The brothers traveled much to and from their home,[19] and the arrival of Maximus himself in Alexandria is expected by Longinus in letter **2**.[20]

As far as we can tell from the surviving portion of his letter, Maximus seems to be instructing his mother about affairs back home. Certain transactions are mentioned (ll. 4, 11) as well as what she has to say to certain people (ll. 3, 9). Satornila, perhaps a widow,[21] may have remained in charge of the household when both Sempronius and Maximus were away. Another interesting bit of information is the mention of irrigation in line 10; the family may have had some agricultural interests near Bacchias.

[18] The evidence is supplied by Sempronius' constant invocation of Serapis and the mention in letter **2** of a voyage he undertook to Taposiris, a day's journey away from Alexandria (Bell, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 39 and Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 169, n. 5). This suspicion may now have textual corroboration if the supplement in letter **8**.7 is correct (Papathomas, *op.cit.* [above, n. 3] 121).

[19] Satornilus writes letter **3** upon his return home. Longinus Celer is at Alexandria in letter **2** and **3** but is said to have traveled home and back again in letter **5**. Sempronius Cyrillus is greeted at home in letter **5**, but a recent visit to his brother Sempronius is also mentioned there.

[20] Perhaps also in letter **8**. Cf. Papathomas, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 122.

[21] Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 170, n. 7; Hanson and van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 143. The letters known so far do not mention her husband.

Recto

. . . . .
].[
-]ων π̣ά̣ντω[ν] ν̣..
π]α̣ράγγ[ι]λ̣ον Γ̣ε̣μελ-
λ- -]τ̣ρει. ἀ̣[π]έχει̣ δὲ
]..[.. ἄ]ϲπαϲα̣ι Γεμ̣έλλι-
ον καὶ τὴν ϲύμ]β̣ιόν̣ μ̣ου κα̣ὶ Ϲεμ[π]ρώνι-
μ]ου καὶ Μαξ[ί]μαν καὶ Ἰού̣-
λιον καὶ τοὺϲ αὐ]τ̣οῦ καὶ τὰ π̣εδάρια κα-
τ' ὄνομα. μετά]δ̣οϲ Ϲαβίν̣ῳ̣ ὅτι ἐὰν
εἰϲ] Β̣αχιάδα̣ν ποτίζεν
]τ̣ιϲάτω. κα̣ὶ δώϲιϲ αὐ-
τῷ ἀϲ]πάζεταί ϲε Ϲεμπρώ-
νιοϲ καὶ Ϲατορνῖ]λοϲ καὶ Οὐαλ̣έριοϲ καὶ
Κέλερ] καὶ οἱ̣ αὐτοῦ. πέμψιϲ
] μετὰ τῶν̣ Οὐαλ̣ερίου
]. ενοϲ πρὸϲ τοὺϲ ἀδελ-
φοὺϲ ἄ]ϲπαϲε Ἑλένην καὶ τοὺϲ
αὐτῆϲ]

(gap of c.3 lines)

ἔρρωϲο]. μοι̣, ἡ κ̣υ̣ρ̣ία μου.

Verso

]..α... ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ Μ̣α̣ξί(μου) ἀδελφοῦ

3 παράγγειλον 7 ϊουλιον Pap. 8 παιδάρια 10 Βακχιάδα, ποτίζειν
11 δώϲειϲ 14 πέμψειϲ 17 ἄϲπαϲαι

. . . .

... of all ...

... Order Gemell-

... receives it in full ...

... Greetings to little Gemellus

(and to) my (wife) and to Semproni-

(and to) my ... and to Maxima and to Julius

(and to) his (family) and to the children

(each by name. Inform) Sabinus that if ...

... to Bacchias to irrigate ...

... let him pay back. And you will give

(him) ... ... Sempronius sends you his regards

(and Satornilus) and Valerius and ...

... (Celer) and his family. Send ...

... with those of Valerius ...

... to my brothers ...

... Greetings to Helen and her

(family) ...

... for me, my lady.

Verso: ... from brother Maximus.

2 πα̣ντω[ν]: The small horizontal stroke to the left of the first nu is probably part of the missing alpha. The last letters of the line have suffered heavy abrasion.

3 π]α̣ράγγ[ι]λ̣ον: The name that follows would have functioned as the indirect object of this restored imperative.

Γε̣μ̣ελ–: The beginning of the name Gemellus can be clearly read in the papyrus. Two people with this name appear in the dossier. One of them is a Gemellus in Alexandria, mentioned only once by Satornilus in his letter to his brother Sempronius (3). The second

Gemellus is a member of the family. The fact that the name comes after an imperative addressed to Satornila would have us believe that Maximus is referring to the second Gemellus. However, the restored imperative is perhaps too strong a word if directed to this Gemellus, who was surely still a child (see l. 5 below). The name Μαξ[ί]μαν in line 7 should caution us not to jump to conclusions about the gender of these incomplete names. What if Γ̣ε̣μελ– were the name of a feminine member of the family, perhaps a daughter or sister of Maximus, whom we still have not encountered in the dossier?

4 –τ̣ρει: The first letter of this line is surely a tau. Possible supplements–assuming a case of iotacism–would be μητρεί, πατρεί or θυγατρεί.

ἀ̣[π]έχει δὲ: The particle δέ at the end of the line signals the beginning of a new sentence. The gap before ἔχει could be bridged by a prepositional prefix. ἀπ- would fit well: after τ̣ρει is a small vertical stroke curving sharply to the right, perhaps the loop of the alpha.

5-9 With ἄ]cπαcα̣ι, the first series of closing greetings are introduced. It is especially common in this dossier to find long strings of names of people who greet and are greeted, especially in one letter of Sempronius (**5**.30-4) and the letter of Satornilus (**3**.18-25). As far as we can tell, Maximus also seems to have followed this practice.

5 Γεμέλλι | [ον: Although never explicitly called a brother, Gemellus is commonly greeted along with the known brothers Satornilus and Maximus (letters **1**, **3** and **5**). The diminutive here may indicate that he was one of the younger members of the family. Sempronius counsels his mother in letter **7b**.36-7 to take care of τὰ ἀδέλφιά μου, a phrase which suggests that some of them were still quite young.

6-8 The three genitive endings at the beginning of these lines are surely parts of pronouns (like those used in letter **3**.18 ff.). There is also a small spot of ink (visible under the microscope) just below and to the left of the omicron that begins line 7, which leads us to suspect μου once again.

6 τὴν cύμ]βιόν̣ μ̣ου: Below the iota and to the left is the end of a horizontal stroke. After the omicron is a straight, vertical stroke.

The wife of Maximus is not mentioned by name in any of the letters, but is familiarly greeted as τὴν cύμβιον αὐτοῦ (**1a**.11, **3**.19, **5**.30-1 and **6a**.16) and τὴν cύμβιόν cου (**6b**.40).

Cεμ[π]ρωνι-: Two men in the dossier are called Sempronius. The Sempronius mentioned in l. 12 is the most important member of the family and the sender of the majority of the letters in the dossier; once he is addressed by his cognomen Maximus (letter **3**.28). The Sempronius who is probably mentioned here, however, has the cognomen Κύριλλοc, and is greeted at home by Sempronius (Maximus) in letter **5**.30-1. He is also said to be in Cappadocia in letter **1**.12-4 and to have traveled to Alexandria in **5**.4-5. Elsewhere in the dossier, he is addressed not only by his *nomen* but also by both his *nomen* and *cognomen* (letter **5**). Nevertheless, as with Γεμελ- in l. 3, we should be wary not to rashly restore a masculine ending here.

7 Μαξ̣[ί]μαν: This is the first appearance in the dossier of this family member. Maximus had children, and one of the letters of Sempronius mentions that he had daughters (**7b**.38-9). Maxima might well be one of them.

Ἰοῦ̣||[λιον]: Although at first sight it may appear to be such, the last letter is not an iota but the downward stroke of the upsilon, all of which was cramped into a vertical line when the writer reached the margin. The diaeresis on the iota suggests the name Julius (cf. letter **3**.20), another relative greeted back home. It is not clear whether he is another brother: the separate greeting he receives from Sempronius in **1a**.14-5 and the fact that he is not mentioned at all in so serious a family letter as **7**, would lead us to believe that he is not.

8 τοὺc αὐτ̣οῦ: οἱ αὐτοῦ (which appears in l. 14) and ἡ cύμβιοc αὐτοῦ are very commonly used in the salutations of the dossier to refer to the families of married people (cf. **2**.20-3 and **3**.22-3). Both would make a good supplement for this line, but the former is to be preferred. If indeed 13 letters in average were lost in the gap, then τὴν cύμβιον αὐτοῦ would be too long. Julius is the only other male member of the household besides Maximus and, perhaps, Valerius (see l. 15) who was married (**1a**.14-5 and especially **3**.20-1: Ἰούλιοc καὶ ἡ cύμβιοc αὐτοῦ) and had a family (**5**.32: τοὺc αὐτοῦ).

τὰ π̣εδάρια κα||[τ' ὄνομα: See especially letter **3**.21, where even the division of κατ' ὄνομα between lines is exactly the same.

9 μετά]δ̣ος: Cf. Sempronius' similar phrasing in letter **1a**.12-3: μετάδος αὐτῇ ὅτι ...

Σαβίν̣ῳ: There is a Serenus Sabinus greeted by Satornilus at Alexandria in letter **3**.24. If the restitution of the imperative in our papyrus is correct, then there was also a Sabinus back home at this time. We cannot tell if the names refer to two different people or to the same man.

10 εἰς] Β̣αχιάδ̣αν: The beta can be recognized by the surviving traces of its bottom loop and horizontal line, although it is somewhat compressed if compared with the one in l. 9. The misspelled form Βαχιάδαν also appears in *P.Mich.* III 197 together with the correct form, Βακχιάδα. The accusative indicates that a preposition (surely εἰς) and a verb of motion or sending in the subjunctive (part of the protasis of the conditional introduced in l. 9) were lost in the lacuna.

ποτίζεν: An infinitive seems to be the best solution here. But why the ending -εν and not the expected -ειν or even -ιν? Perhaps ει was indeed written down, and then, due to lack of space at the end of the line, the iota became the left leg of the nu. (For another example of cramped writing at the end of a line, see note to Ἰού̣||[λιον] in l. 7.) The infinitive would indicate the purpose of the lost verb of motion or sending of the protasis introduced in 9.[22] The sense of 9-10 would therefore be: "tell him that if he (goes / is sent) to Bacchias to irrigate..."

11]τ̣ισάτω: This imperative, which may form part of the apodosis of the conditional introduced in l. 9, could be a form of either τίνω or ἀποτίνω.

αὐ||[τ̣ῷ: The dative of the personal pronoun as indirect object of δώσις may be restored here. A masculine form is supplied because the person referred to is probably the Sabinus just mentioned.

12-4 The second series of closing greetings begins here. This time we have the greetings sent by the people in Alexandria. Some

[22] See E. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II.1 (Berlin 1970) 296-7, §50.A.I.1.

of the names that follow are greeted in Satornilus' letter to Sempronius (letter **3**).

12 Cεμπρώ||[νιος: Sempronius Maximus (see note to l. 6).

13 Cατορνῖ]λος: λος could also be part of the name Γεμέλλος (not the one greeted in l. 5), a person mentioned only once by Sempronius as sending greetings to Satornila (letter **1a**.16). But the name of one of the Sempronii, Satornilus, offers a better restoration, especially when followed by the name of a known brother of his, Valerius (cf. letter **7**). Satornilus did indeed travel to and from his hometown. He writes letter **3** to Sempronius after arriving home safely from a trip to tell him that he found everything in order and their mother in good health (**3**.13-8). There, although Satornilus does not explicitly mention where he came from, his eagerness to write to Sempronius about things back home leads us to believe that he has just arrived from Alexandria.

Οὐαλ̣έριος: Another brother who is sometimes at home and sometimes in Alexandria. He is greeted by Satornilus at Alexandria in letter **3**, but a third letter (now lost) that was part of document **7** was addressed to him at home.

14 Κέλερ] καὶ οἱ̣ αὐτοῦ: The surviving οἱ αὐτοῦ gives us a hint about what is missing in the gap. In the dossier, the only person greeted in Alexandria together with his family is the brother Longinus Celer, the sender of letter **2**. Satornilus sends greetings to Κέλλερα καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ (**3**.22-3) and Longinus himself says to Maximus: "ἀσπάζοντέ σοι καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας ὑ ἐμοὶ πάντας (sc. οἱ ἐμοὶ πάντες)" (**2**.21-2). After the mention of the three brothers, we might also expect Maximus to include Longinus. In the other letters of the dossier he is commonly called Κέλερ (**3**.22-3 and **5**.5), hence the restoration here.

15 μετὰ τῶν̣ Οὐαλ̣ερίου: Perhaps to be taken with πέμψις in l. 14. Maximus would be asking his mother to send him something along with the things of Valerius. Sempronius sometimes asks for things to be sent from home: besides letters, clothing (letter **6a**.10-1, with the annotation on the margin at 41-3). Less likely, there could be a reference here to an otherwise unknown family of Valerius.

16] . εν̣οϲ: Two ink marks, one above the other, are the only remains of the right portion of the first letter. Although the third letter can be read as nu, its uncertain formation allows some room for doubt: it appears as if a rho (or iota?) may have been written after the epsilon and then corrected to nu.

18-9 Ἑλένην καὶ τοὺϲ ||[αὐτῆϲ: This reference to Helen and her family is also found at the end of some of the other greetings in the dossier (letters **1**.12 and **5**.32-3). Her relationship with the known brothers and Satornila is not specified.

19 There are traces of writing to the left of μοι that correspond either to a nu or to the diphthong ει. A phrase like εἰϲ τὸν ἀεὶ or εἰϲ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον (as in *P.Fay.* 117.28) may have been lost here. Sempronius uses a similar formula, διὰ παντὸϲ, in letters **1a**.17 and **5**.35.

ἡ κ̣υ[ρ]ί̣α μου: Satornila is the only member of the family who is addressed this way (letter **3**.17-8). This treatment of respect appears both in the opening and closing formulas of several of the letters (**1a**, **5**, **6a**). The use of a nominative and article in place of a vocative is highly unusual for closing formulas, and appears again in two letters of this same dossier in which Sempronius addresses his mother (**1a**.17 and **5**.33). However, such a usage is attested in other Greek papyri and is similar to the classical use of a nominative with an article in apposition to an omitted personal pronoun ϲύ or ὑμεῖϲ that is left to be specified by the verb form.[23]

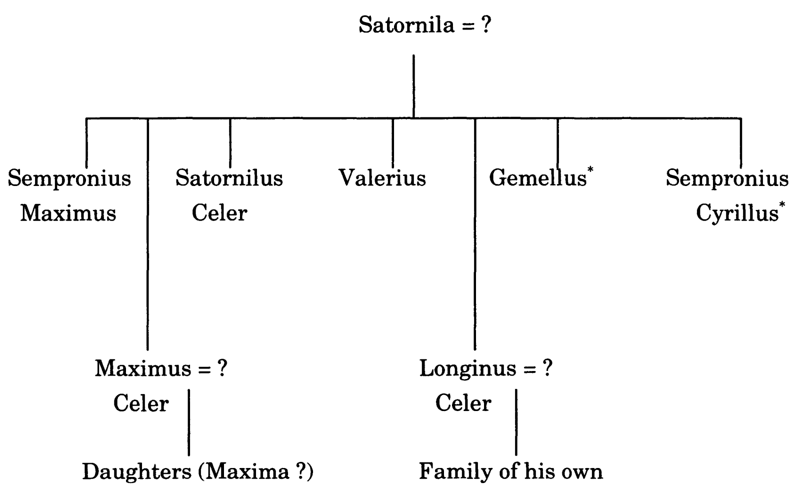
20 ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ Μ̣α̣ξί(μου) ἀδελφοῦ: The genitive form indicates that the sender is being mentioned here. The letters of Maximus' abbreviated name have suffered abrasion, but they can be read with confidence. The name of the recipient is completely lost but was surely not his mother. At first sight this may seem to contradict our former conclusion that the person addressed in the letter is Satornila, but the Sempronii had the custom of writing to their mother letters that were to be delivered to one of the brothers, whose names appeared on the outside address: Sempronius' letters to Satornila are addressed to Maximus (in letter **1b**.32), Valerius and Satornilus (**7b**.43-4). One could make the case that two of the letters in **7** are

[23] See E. Mayser, *ibid.* 55-6, §12.3 and R. Kühner, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I (Hannover and Leipzig) 47 ff.

indeed for the last two brothers, but letter **5**, a single sheet containing only one letter for Satornila, does not show her name in the outside address, but rather the name of Maximus. As Bell, van Minnen and Hanson have suggested, a possible reason for this could be that Sempronius (and Maximus) wished to leave to their brothers the control of the information that reached his mother, who was probably illiterate.[24]

APPENDIX

The Sempronii Family Tree



* Not explicitly mentioned as a brother.

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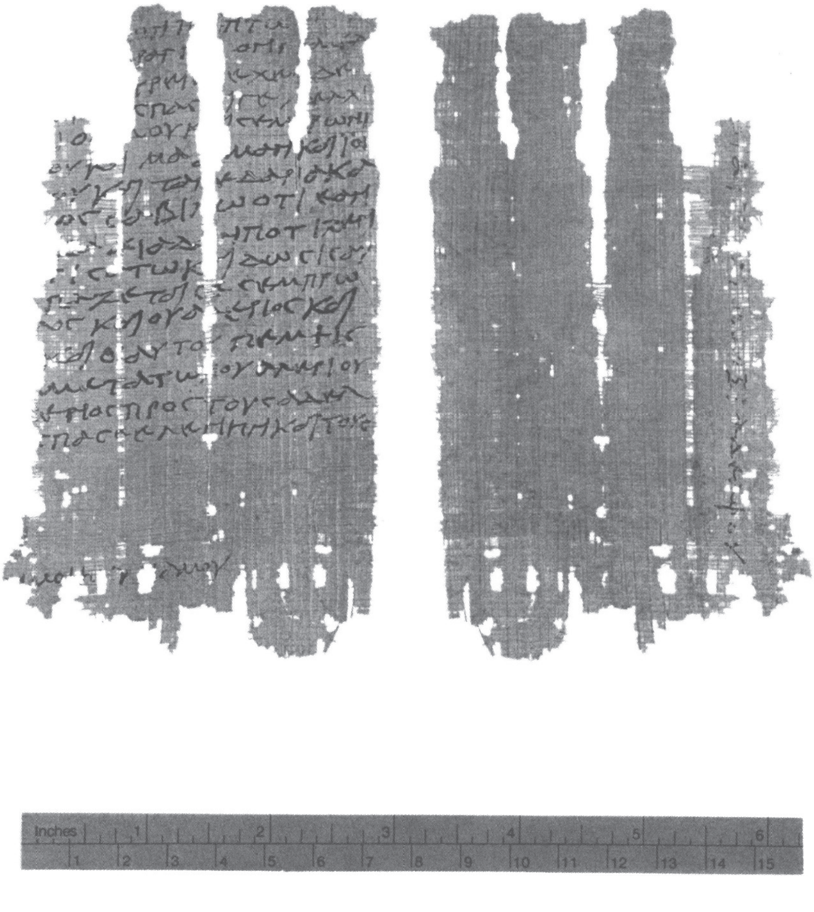
24 Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 39; Hanson and van Minnen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 144.



P.Col. inv. 145 (b) Recto and Verso
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Columbia University Library)

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 38 (2001) 35-38

A Plea for Correspondence*

P.Col. inv. 18A | 17 cm x 12.5 cm | First half I A.D.
Plate 2[1] | Provenance Unknown

In this letter, written along the fibers, a certain Diogenes remarks that he is awaiting his brother Gamos' arrival and pleads with Gamos to write to him. The message seems nearly complete; perhaps no more than a line or two of farewell is missing from the bottom, but the greetings conveyed to others (cf. ll. 7-9) could have been much longer, and it is conceivable that half the sheet is missing. The verso contains only the name of the addressee, Gamos, extending vertically off the bottom right and beginning 2.5 cm from the bottom edge and 2 cm from the right edge. The left margin is 1-1.5 cm, the right just over 1 cm, except for l. 8 which extends to .03 cm from the edge of the papyrus. The top margin is not visible across the width of the papyrus, but a fragment of attached papyrus suggests that it was at least 2.0 cm high. The papyrus is colored light brown. Seven vertical creases are still visible.

There is no internal date, but the hand appears to be from the first few decades of the first century A.D. For similar hands, cf. *P.Col.* VIII 210 (pl. 19) from 26 A.D., *P.Mert.* I 9 (pl. XII) from 12 A.D., and *P.Mich.* V 266 (pl. 3) from 38 A.D. Interesting features of the papyrus are the phrase that begins the body of the message (l. 3), which seems unique to this papyrus, and the slightly comical tone of the writer's entreaties. The author is clearly preoccupied

* This papyrus belongs to the Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library at Columbia University and is published here with their permission. I owe many thanks to Roger Bagnall for his tireless and patient instruction, to the papyri reading group, who offered suggestions on an earlier version of this article, and to John Marincola, for his invaluable support.

[1] A catalogue record and a digital image of this papyrus can be found at: www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/apis/apisquery?function=lookup&key=columbia.apis.p410

with his brother's failure to write and at the end worries that if he does not hear from Gamos, they may unwittingly sail past one another.

Διογένηϲ̣ Γάμ̣ωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
πλεῖϲτα χ̣αίρειν.
μιᾶϲ ἐκ μιᾶϲ ϲ̣ὲ ἐκδεχόμενοϲ, ἄγε
ἐ̣πιϲτο̣λίδιόν μοι πέμψαι. ἐρωτῶ ϲὲ
καὶ παρακαλῶι ἐπιϲτολίδιόν μοι ἀπόϲτει-
λον ἵνα ἀναψύ̣ξωι καὶ γράψον μοι πότε̣
καταπλεῖϲ μήποτε ἀναχθῶι. ἀϲπάζο̣υ
τὴν γυναῖκαν ϲου, τὴν ἀδελφήν μου, τὸ π̣α̣ιδεὶν ϲου
ϲυν . . . [ca. 14] . [. . .] . . ἐπιϲτολ(ίδιον)

Verso: Γάμ̣ῳ

3 μίαν, see note *ad loc.* 4 πέμψαι, π ex μ 5 παρακαλῶ 6 ἀναψύξω
7 ἀναχθῶ 8 γυναῖκα, παιδί(ο)ν

From Diogenes to his brother Gamos, many greetings. Since I have been waiting for you day after day, come on and send me a note. I am asking and begging that you send a note to me so that I can take relaxation, and write me when you are sailing downstream lest I head upstream. Greetings to your wife, my sister, and your child [...] note [...].

Verso: To Gamos

1 The name Γάμοϲ is not found in the published papyri, but appears in the Hermopolite stela *SB* I 4206.138 and is common enough outside Egypt. Approximately two dozen examples are found in P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal*

Names I (Oxford 1987) 106 (Crete ?, Cyprus, Kos, and Thera); II (Oxford 1994) 92 (Athens); IIIA (Oxford 1997) 96 (Apulia, Campania, and Lucania); *SEG* 31 (Amsterdam 1981) 1182 (Pisidia) and 1342 (Cyprus); and H. Solin, *Die Griechischen Personennamen in Rom* II (Berlin and New York 1982) 959-60 (Rome).

3 μιᾶϲ ἐκ μιᾶϲ (scil. ἡμέραϲ): the first genitive is probably attracted by mistake into the case of the second one. There are several parallels for the expression μίαν ἐκ μιᾶϲ that appears to mean "day after day;" see, e.g. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 43.r2.41-3: διαβάλλων με μίαν ἐκ μιᾶϲ ("putting me off day after day"); *P.Oxy.* I 86.15: [οὗτόϲ] δε μίαν ἐκ μιᾶϲ ὑπερτιθέμεν[ο]ϲ ("but he has been putting it off day after day"); *Stud.Pal.* XX 86.11: μίαν ἐκ μιᾶϲ ὑπερτίθετο ("he put it off day after day"). Cf. *CPR* I 19.11 (IV A.D.), *SB* I 5343.41 (II A.D.), and 5762.41 (IV A.D.). For the use of this expression with other prepositions, see Preisigke, *WB* s.v. εἶϲ. For a literary parallel, cf. Fraenkel *ad Ag.* 1111 (Oxford 1950), who notes the use of χεὶρ ἐκ χειρόϲ for "an uninterrupted sequence."

There is a slight anacoluthon with ἐκδεχόμενοϲ, insofar as the subject of the participle is Diogenes and the subject of πέμψαι is Gamos.

For the use of ἄγε as an imperative followed by an infinitive, see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) §680 (2).

6 ἀναψύχω seems to have become metaphorical in the post-Hellenistic period, but occurs in a literal sense with a direct object as early as Homer (*Il.* 13.84; cf. *LSJ* s.v. I.1). This verb in the sense of "relax" (cf. Mandilaras, *op.cit.* §201) appears in *P.Oxy.* X 1296.7 (III A.D.) and *P.Oslo* III 153.10 (early II A.D.). The phrase ἵνα ἀναψύξω appears in *SB* I 3939.28. The senders of the first two papyri are students: in the former letter a son informs his father that his studies are proceeding well and in the latter a son who studies in a town writes to his parents in the countryside.

7 ἀνάγω is the standard verb used in Egypt for sailing up the Nile. For the geographical implications of ἀνα–, see H.C. Youtie,

"The *Kline* of Sarapis," *HThR* 41 (1948) 15-6, n. 36 = *Scriptiunculae* I (Amsterdam 1973) 493-4, n. 30.

8 For this form of the accusative of γυνή and other third declension nouns, see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II (Milan 1977) 45; for the gradual loss of syllable developing from vowel syncope, see D.J. Georgacas, "On the Nominal Endings -ιc, ιν, in Later Greek," *CP* 43 (1948) 243-60.

9 The letter seems about to end. Perhaps the final line contained yet another plea for correspondence.

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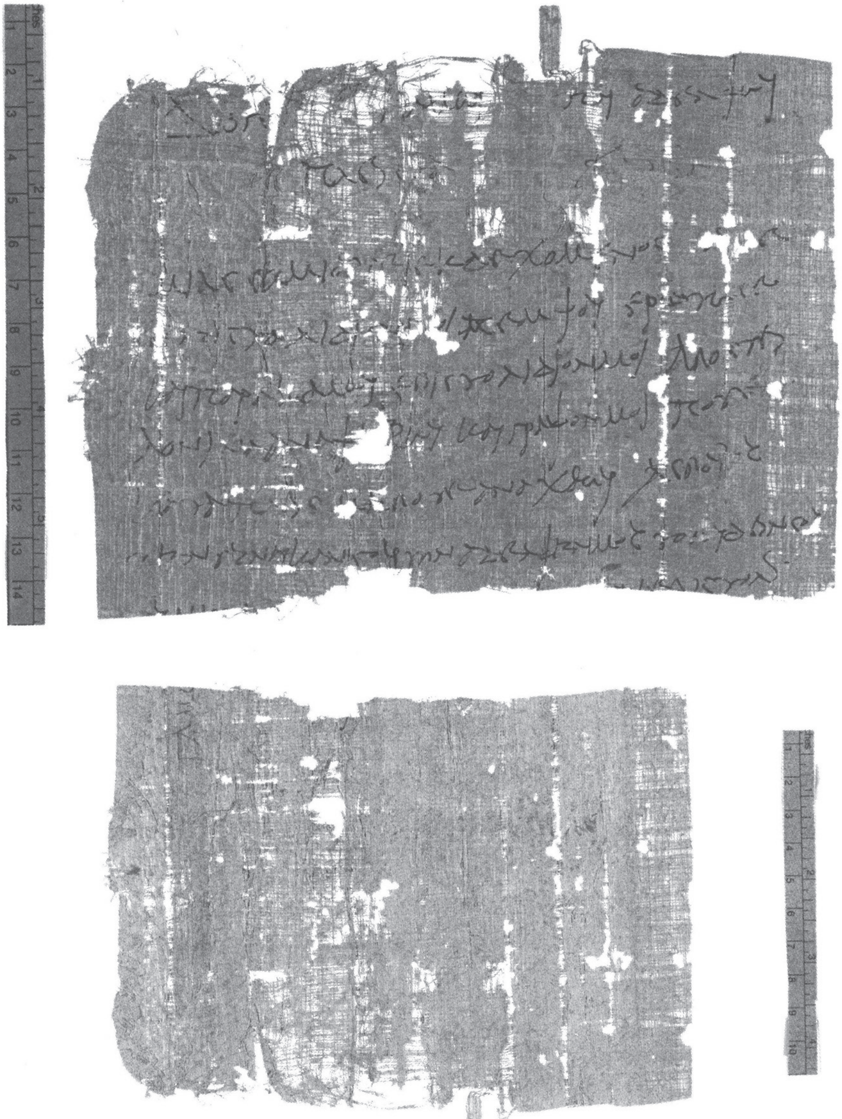
Plate 2 **(to Fulkerson, "A Plea ... ")**



P.Col. inv. 18A Recto and Verso
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Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 38 (2001) 39-50

The Coptic Verso of *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 7

P.Berl. inv. 21324 | 7.3 cm x 6.5 cm | VII/VIII A.D.
Plate 3 | Hermopolis

The original editor of this papyrus did not publish the Coptic text on the ↕ side of the fragment. One might expect the Greek liturgical text on the → side to have been written on the reverse of a reused document. However, inspection of the remaining Coptic reveals that it too fits well in a liturgical context, possibly that of the consecration of a church. I hypothesize that, given the existence of bilingual liturgies, *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 7 might have come from an eighth-century codex containing texts from the reconsecration of a Chalcedonian Egyptian church to Monophysite use.

The Greek text on the → side of *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 7 (P.Berol. inv. 21324, published in 1995) preserves parts of seven lines of a liturgical text that mentions the six-winged seraphim. The editor, Dr. P. Sarischouli, dates the fragment to the VII/VIII centuries and cites Cavallo-Maehler, *Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period: A.D. 300-800.* BICS Suppl. 47, 53a (the Rylands hymns, *P.Ryl.* III 466) as a comparison for the hand.[1] On p. 72 of her publication Dr. Sarischouli notes that on the ↕ side are five lines of Coptic.[2] With her

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[1] This comparison should be extended to include: Cavallo-Maehler, *op.cit.* 53b (P.Berol. 11763) and 53c (*PSI* IX 1096); much of the material in *MPER* n.s. XVII, esp. nos. 13-25, 64; P.Vindob. G 42377R, edited by J. Diethart and K. Niederwimmer, *JÖB* 36 (1986) 64-6, with my remarks in *ZPE* 69 (1987) 291-2; *P.Lond.* III 1029r = P. Maas, *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie* (Berlin 1931^2), no. 1 (cited by Sarischouli on p. 74 for its mention of the seraphim); P.Copt.Mus.inv. 3469, edited by L.S.B. MacCoull, *AFP* 40 (1994) 127-32; Bodleian Ms.Gr. Class. D 19(P), edited by N. Gonis, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 172-4; and to a lesser extent *P.Col.* XI 296 and P.Duk.inv. 766 r/v; for the latter see the on-line version at: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/766r.html, and http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/766v.html

[2] Again a case where only the Greek portion of a bilingual item is read! Cf. my remarks on the present case in "Coptica Mancuniensia: Coptic Texts from the Rylands Arabic Papyri," in *P.Bingen* (Brussels 2000) 619, n. 2.

kind permission and that of the late Dr. William Brashear of the Papyrussammlung, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, to whom I am grateful, I should like to offer here, for completeness' sake, a report on what Coptic text can be seen on P.Berl. inv. 21324 ↕ (together with a photograph),[3] and on what this might signify for comprehending the origin of the fragment. It will be seen that considerations of codicology and content combine to postulate an origin for the fragment in a bilingual Greek/Coptic liturgical codex, one containing texts related to church consecration.

An initial impression might be that this opisthograph fragment comes from a leaf of a papyrus codex, since the "up" direction is the same on both sides of the sheet. (The lines of the Coptic text are more widely spaced than those of the Greek, seemingly about 1.25 cm apart.) As will be seen, I believe such an impression will turn out to be correct. However, numerous items of this type are known that for their part seem to be separate sheets of re-used papyrus (often with the writing in *different* "up" directions on the two sides, like Cavallo-Maehler, *op.cit.* 53a and 53b, but unlike Copt.Mus.inv. 3469), which have been identified according to their supposed function as "choir slips in the church" (so Cavallo-Maehler, *ibid.*).[4] But unrelated Arabic is found on the "other" sides of these papyri much more often than Coptic is, reinforcing the impression that in such cases a stray piece of post-conquest waste-paper was reworked[5] to produce text sheets for individual use. Where there are bilingual "sheets," they tend to have Arabic versos; the fact that we have Coptic here should not lead one to prejudge the type of text. The

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[3] Photo by Margarete Büsing, courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SMB.

[4] The phrase "choir slip" seems to mean a separate written sheet bearing the text of a troparion or other proper liturgical element that would be held by a (presumably solo) singer/reciter to aid in performance. Whether this corresponds to actual late antique practice remains an open question. Such "slips" would have been single sheets, not the equivalent of what in the later Latin West are termed "libelli;" see P.-M. Gy, "The Different Forms of Liturgical "Libelli"," in G. Austin (ed.), *Fountain of Life: In Memory of Niels K. Rasmussen* (Washington, D.C. 1991) 23-34.

[5] See MacCoull, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 131-2.

presence of Coptic here on the ↕ side of *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 7 makes us look still more closely at what kind of text this "verso" might have been: documentary or literary, and if literary, related or not?

In fact, not much is visible. In diplomatic transcription the text reads:

]ⲭ̣ⲁⲣⲓⲥ (vac.) ⲧⲉⲭⲁ̣[
]ⲟ̣ϥ̣ ⲁϫⲛ̅ ϣⲱⲱⲧ[
] ̣ ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥ[
4] ̣ (vac.) ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲛ̣[
] ϣ̣ⲁⲃⲥ̣ ⲛ̣[

After a first line which may contain parts of two Greek loanwords, in l. 2 one can clearly read ⲁϫⲛ̅, "without," and then what might well be ϣⲱⲱⲧ, "shortage, shortfall," as in the contract clause of BM 6201 A 2 in which the party promises to deliver the stipulated money ⲁⲧϣⲱⲱⲧ, "without shortage."[6] So, a Coptic documentary text, such as a sale on delivery or a promise to repay a loan (or a contract, if ⲧⲉⲭ[were ⲧⲉⲭ[ⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ), written (as most often) across the fibres, could have been reused for the Greek → liturgical text. However, ⲥⲙⲏ, "voice," in l. 3 is feminine and apparently followed by a feminine modifier (ⲉⲥ); "in a (some kind of) voice" does not fit so well in a documentary context. Also, in l. 5, if what we read is a form of ϣⲓⲃⲉ/ϣⲁⲃ- or a derivative, we could be either in a fiscal context with the meaning "exchange" or "repayment," or else in a religious context with a meaning such as "[be a] counterpart, type" (see below, n. 34).

Let us return to the Greek text on the → side. In l. 1 Sarischouli is quite right to concentrate on the ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον formula in the eucharistic anaphora, specifically on the place where it introduces a mention of the Thrice-Holy-singing seraphim (p. 74 with references).[7] In the Coptic-language (Bohairic) anaphora of Basil the

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[6] Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 593a; cf. also ⲁϫⲛ ϣⲱⲟⲧ in *P.Lond.* IV 443 (cited *ibid.*).

[7] Cf. J. Henner, *Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica* (Tübingen 2000) 5-6; and Grillmeier and T. Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition*. II.4: *The Church of Alexandria with Nubia and Ethiopia after 451*, trans. O.C. Dean (London 1996)

sursum corda bidding and its responses continue to be in Greek; and the people's reply of ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον introduces the preface to the triple Sanctus beginning:

> ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ, ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ, ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ ... ⲛⲓⲥⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲙ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲛϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲧⲭⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ.
>
> Meet and right, meet and right, truly in truth meet and right ... the seraphim with six wings hymn (you) continually and without falling silent, saying ...[8]

In this formulation the epithet ⲁⲧⲭⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ (Sahidic ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ) translates a form from ἀcίγητοc,[9] often found in these contexts with φωνή[10] (cf. "voice" on the ↕ side here) in allusions to the Temple theophany of Isaiah 6:1-8.[11] Could our fragment in fact be a leaf from some sort of liturgical codex, and could the ↕ side have come first, before the → side?[12] The possible answer to both is yes.

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241. I am sorry that D. Martinez, *Baptized for Our Sakes: A Leather Trisagion from Egypt* = *P.Mich.* XIX (Stuttgart 1999) arrived too late for me to make use of it here.

8 *The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil* (Cairo 1998) 424-5.

9 Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 288b.

10 Compare ἀπαύcτωc and τριcάγια φωνή in the 8th century El-Moallaqa inscription newly re-edited by J. Hammerstaedt, *Grieschische Anaphorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien* (Opladen 1999) 187-99, esp. 191.

11 As in S. Parenti and E. Velkovska (eds.), *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336* (Rome 1995) 226.

12 On bilingual liturgical texts see H. Brakmann, "Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1992-1996)," in S. Emmel et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit* I (Wiesbaden 1999) 451-64, esp. 454-5; cf., e.g., P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. inv. 1366, Pauline lections, edited by C. Gallazzi and P. Piacentini, *Acme* 51 (1998) 3-21, esp. 12. The more usual order is to have a block of Greek text followed by its Coptic translation, as in T. Derda and K. Urbaniak-Walczak, "P.Naqlun inv. 10/95: Greek Excerpts from a Liturgy with their Coptic Translation," *JJP* 26 (1996) 7-21. On the fluid linguistic situation in Egypt between ca. 600 and 750 see R. Kasser, "Langue copte bohairique: son attestation par les inscriptions des Kellia et son évaluation linguistique," in S. Emmel et al. (above), II 335-46, esp. 338-41.

Although the pericope Isaiah 6:1-8[13] is not known as a lection in the rite of consecration of a Coptic church,[14] that rite itself has long been seen as strongly patterned after the eucharistic rite, as in fact the consecration introduces the new building's first eucharistic celebration.[15]

A featured operative phrase in the consecration rite, introducing the actual hallowing procedure, is ἡ θεία χάριc,[16] which irresistibly recalls the ?] ⲭ̣ⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲭⲁ̣[ⲣⲓⲥ ? of l. 1 of the ↕ side of our papyrus. The Isaiah 6 passage, for its part, both formed the focus of important Egyptian Christian exegesis and played a part in Egyptian church decoration. Based on (ps.-)Basil's interpretation of the burning coal (ἄνθραξ) of Isaiah 6:6 as symbolizing Christ's incarnation,[17] Cyril of Alexandria, whose Isaiah commentary (*CPG* 5203)

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[13] With the Greek text in the Göttingen LXX (ed. J. Ziegler, Göttingen 1983) one should compare both the Sahidic (I thank Monica Blanchard of ICOR for a copy of MS Morgan 568 fols. 11-2) and the Bohairic (*Prophetae Majores*, ed. H. Tattam [Oxford 1852] I, 24-7; I thank Kent Rigsby for this text). In the Trishagion, the Bohairic has the loan ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ and the Sahidic ϥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ. However, the Sahidic being in the third person is, like ⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ at the end of the verse, closer to the Greek with αὐτοῦ, while the Bohairic, being in the second person with ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ, is clearly influenced by liturgical use. See A. Budde, "'Der Kopf will das Neue, das Herz will immer dasselbe: Beobachtungen zum Phänomen der Beharrlichkeit sprachlicher Wendungen im Hochgebet," *JbAC* Ergbd. 28 (1998) 49-50 with n. 43; and M.E. Johnson, "The Origins of the Anaphoral Use of the Sanctus and Epiclesis Revisited," in H.-J. Feulner et al. (eds.), *Crossroad of Culture: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*. OCA 260 (Rome 2000) 405-42, esp. 436-7. (Cf. also Cassel, *op.cit.* [below, n. 18] 52 n. 3.)

[14] R.-G. Coquin, "La consécration des églises dans le rite copte," *OrSyr* 9 (1964) 149-87, with many points later corrected in *id., Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin* (Cairo 1975) 57-62. The lections are reproduced in full (for the later rite) in G.H. Horner, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite* (London 1902) 81-319 (cf. Coquin, "Consécration," 153 with n. 9); the earlier form is outlined in Coquin, *Livre*, 61. (For *re*-consecrations see below.)

[15] Coquin, "Consécration" (above, n. 14) 154-5, 165-6; cf. 152.

[16] *Ibid.*, 154-5, 163, 165-6; cf. Horner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14).

[17] *PG* 30.429AB. This approach differs from that of Chrysostom (*CPG* 4416; ed. J. Dumortier, *SC* 277 [Paris 1981]; *PG* 56.67-77), who interprets the altar, the

has been dated to between 412 and 423 A.D.,[18] explained the burning coal image as illustrating Christ's union of humanity and divinity:[19]

> One of the seraphim is sent having a coal, which he took with tongs from the θυϲιαϲτήριον. And this is a symbol of Christ, who for us and on our behalf offered himself to God the Father as a spiritual, pure, and spotless sacrifice, in the scent of fragrance. And it must be said how he is likened to a coal: it is customary for the Holy Scripture to liken the divine nature to fire. ... So as the coal is wood by nature (φύϲει), yet is totally (ὅλοϲ δι' ὅλου) filled with fire and has its power and ἐνέργεια, in this way it is reasonable that our Lord Jesus Christ be understood: "The word was made flesh." ... And so Emmanuel is rightly likened to the coal, who, when he is upon our lips, he utterly takes away our sins and completely cleanses our iniquities.

This images was to become a strong point of anti-Chalcedonian thought, especially in Egypt, where loyalty to Cyril's thought became a touchstone of faith.[20] And the figure of Isaiah with a scroll

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fire on it, and the coal as "symbols of future mysteries" that will become realized when the Incarnation takes place in time (*PG* 56.72-3). (I thank Arthur Shippee for his sage advice.)

18 A. Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome 1952) 13-8 (during a period when Cyril was still preaching against the Jews of Alexandria, as can be seen from *PG* 70.173C, 176D, 177AB). See now J.D. Cassel, "Cyril of Alexandria and the Science of the Grammarians: A Study in Setting, Purpose, and Emphasis of Cyril's *Commentary on Isaiah*" (Diss., University of Virginia 1992), esp. 14-6, 19 n. 55, 29-31, 47, 49 (with n. 96 narrowing the dating to between 418 and 422), 50, 58, 72, 89, 125-6, 209-16.

19 *PG* 70.181BC. Cyril began his exegesis by warning the audience through the example of King Uzziah's frightful death from leprosy, a divine punishment for meddling in Temple matters (*PG* 70.169D-172AB). Was the subtext of this (not singled out by Cassel, *ibid.*, 181-3) a warning to the young emperor Theodosius II to keep out of Alexandian church affairs? Cyril was also concerned to refute Origen's exegesis of the two seraphim as being (in some way) the Son and the Holy Spirit (as in *PL* 24.904A, in Jerome's translation), seen flanking and praising the Father (*PG* 70.173CD-176AB): cf. Kerrigan, *op.cit.,* 249 with n. 5, and Cassel, *op.cit.*, 203 n. 83; also M.J. Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Isaiah* (Oxford 1999) 51-2, and Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 182-3.

20 See A. Grillmaier and T. Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition.* II.2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, trans. J. Cawte and P. Allen (London 1995) 82-7. Cf. B. Outtier, "La version arménienne du commentaire de

displaying this very verse, 6:6 (in Greek), was depicted on the south wall of a late sixth-century church near St. Menas' shrine complex,[21] opposite a figure of Solomon who clearly embodies an allusion to the church-dedication lection 1 Kings 8:22-53a.[22] These prophetic figures frame the approach to the sanctuary (θυσιαστήριον or ⲘⲀ ⲚⲢ̄ϢⲰⲞⲨϢⲒ, literally "place of sacrifice"),[23] the place of consecration of the eucharist. And how indeed does Christ touch and purify the lips of the believer (cf. PG 70.181D-184A)? By being received and consumed in the eucharistic sacrament. The eucharist was of prime importance in the decision to form a separate non-Chalcedo-

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Cyrille d'Alexandrie sur Isaïe ... Deux fragments inédits," in J.P. Mahé and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina Garsoïan* (Atlanta 1997) 301-8, esp. 302-4 (on Uzziah's fate), 308 (on possible anti-Chalcedonian use). Also from Armenia compare the seventh-century Yovhannês Ôjnec'i's comment," emitting the fragrant confession of the *trishagion* in the company with the seraphim in honor of the immortal crucified One. Fired by the divine coals and called to adoption by the heavenly Father, they sing ... ," *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjewac'i* (New York 1991) 27 (trans. S.P. Cowe); cf. 147 on the seraphim and their reverence before the incarnate Son. the same exegesis as Cyril's is repeated by Jacob of Serug: "[the seraphim's] burning coal prefigures the mystery of the body of the Son;" see T. Jansma, "L'Hexaémeron de Jacques de Saroug," *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959) 13 (I thank Monica Blanchard of ICOR for a copy of this article). The image is still alive in eighth-century Coptic thought. Zacharias of Sakha's sermon on the Hypapante depicts Mary saying to Simeon that this day had been predicted by Isaiah "to whom was presented, by the seraphim, the burning coal which was none other than the Lord whom I now present to you;" see H. de Vis, *Homélies Coptes de la Vaticane* II (Copenhagen 1929) 17 (I thank Kent Rigsby for a copy). Compare also the text published by G. Husson, "P.Strasb. inv. 1185: Hymne pour la fête de l'Hypapantè (2 février)," *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* II (Florence 2001) 681-7, esp. 682-4 on the burning coal in the tongs as an image of Christ in the Virgin's arms. As A. Gerhards put it, "If the Logos-Christ is the mediator of every revelation, then the vision of Isaiah also goes back to him" (*Die griechischen Gregoriosanaphora* [Münster 1984] 59).

[21] J. Witte-Orr, *Die Wandmalereien von Kom al-Ahbariya* (Diss., Bonn 1993) fig. 3.

[22] Horner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 247-61; cf. Coquin, "Consécration" (above, n. 14) 169.

[23] See Coquin, *ibid.*, 175-6 on the triple division θυσιαστήριον/σκηνή/ϪⲞⲒ.

nian church in Egypt, complete with clergy, buildings, exegesis, and liturgy.[24] It is possible that the Mareotic church, a reworked building,[25] whose walls depicted Isaiah and Solomon, had been reconsecrated to non-Chalcedonian use from a Chalcedonian origin.[26] It was repainted with decoration showing both Isaiah's one-nature Christology and the triumph of Constantine, to illustrate the separatists' contention that only they, not the innovating Chalcedonians, remained true to the faith of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea. A eucharist enacted within this building would, in their view and experience, be real.

Seen through the optic of liturgical history, the ritual for consecration of a church occasionally draws on one other source besides those for the eucharist and ordination: baptism. While this source has hitherto been ruled out for the Coptic/Egyptian consecration rite,[27] our papyrus may provide evidence for reconsideration, given the possible reading of ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ (?) in ↕ l. 1 coupled with "voice" in l. 3: a pairing also often found in the Byzantine rite of initiation[28] as well as its parallels used on the fest of the Epiphany,[29] both of which mention the six-winged[30] seraphim.[31]

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24 Cf. D.W. Winkler, *Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche* (Innsbruck-Vienna 1997) 168-81, and L.S.B. MacCoull, "John Philoponus, *On the Pasch* (*CPG* 7267): The Egyptian Eucharist in the Sixth Century and the Armenian Connection," *JÖB* 49 (1999) 1-12, esp. 9-10 with the literature cited there.

25 Witte-Orr, *op.cit.* (above, n. 21) 8-11, 18. Here we have evidence to oppose the counter-intuitive view that Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches did not differ in decoration and/or plan, as maintained by, e.g., M. Rassart-Debergh, "Le programme iconographique des 'églises' kelliotes," in *ead.* (ed.), *Études Coptes* V. *CahBiblCopt* 10 (Paris-Louvain 1998) 23-44, esp. 29; and by Grillmeier and Hainthaler, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) II.4, 275-6.

26 See L.S.B. MacCoull, "'A Dwelling Place of Christ, a Healing Place of Knowledge:' The Non-Chalcedonian Eucharist in Late Antique Egypt and its Setting" (forthcoming).

27 Coquin, "Consécration" (above, n. 14) 166, 172.

28 Parenti and Velkovska, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 111-2.

29 *Ibid.* 128. Psalm 28:3 (-5, 7-9) is used at Coptic Epiphany; cf. J. Crichton-Stuart, Marquess of Bute, and E. Wallis Budge, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of Epiphany* (London 1911) 131; L.S.B. MacCoull, "Further Notes on P.Gr.

A further ramification of Isaiah 6:1-8 and its interpretation, one that came to be influential in late antique Egypt, was its use in the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus, especially the *Celestial Hierarchy* (*CH*) and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (*EH*). These writings[32] provided rich food for study for both Chalcedonian[33] and non-Chalcedonian thinkers of the sixth century and after. The author introduced his *CH* by justifying the parallel between the heavenly hierarchy and the earthly (*CH* 1.3, PG 3.124A): "He made our own hierarchy a ministerial colleague (cυλλειτουργόν) of these divine hierarchies by an assimilation ... to their godlike priesthood.[34] ... The reception of the most divine Eucharist is a symbol of participation (μετουcία) in Jesus."[35] The seraphim, closest to God (*CH* 6.2, PG 3.201A), are fiery, purifying, and illuminating (*CH* 7.1, PG 3.205B-C), and they participate in Christ (*CH* 7.2, PG 3.208C). As they utter the Trishagion (*CH* 7.4, PG 3.212B-C) they transmit knowledge of God from one level to another (*CH* 10.2, PG 3.273B). The chapter *CH* 13 is the

Wess.Prag. 3: Greek Psalm Antiphons in 11th-century Egypt," *EphemLit* 106 (1992) 167-70. See also below, n. 31.

30 Note also that ἑξαπτέρυγον is an alternate term for the *rhipidion* or liturgical fan, often crafted of metal in a form that visually represents a six-winged seraph (M.M. Mango in *ODB* III, 1791), an implement that is both used during the eucharist celebration and carried in the processions at consecrations of churches and of the myron (*Copt.Encycl.* V, 1473-4 s.v. "Liturgical Instruments: Fan"). See also below on the myron in the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus and its associated seraph symbolism.

31 The text in P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. inv. 20, also mentioning the seraphim, appears to date from too late a period (13th-14th centuries) to be a comparandum here: Gallazzi and Piacentini, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 11. For the seraphim in the Coptic Epiphany text see Bute and Budge, *op.cit.* (above, n. 29) 128-9.

32 See G. Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," *JECS* 7 (1999) 573-99.

33 See P. Rorem and J.C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus* (Oxford 1998) 1-45.

34 Cf. Horner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 440-1: "... who were pleased that the *taxis* of hierarchs might be the counterpart type (ϣϵⲃⲓⲱ ⲛⲛⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) of the heavenly angelic service" (my translation).

35 Trans. C. Luibheid (Mahwah, N.J. 1987) 147, 146.

exegesis specifically of Isaiah 6:1-6. The writer asks, was it really a first-rank seraph that came to Isaiah with the coal, or just an angel assigned to human-care duty, or a vision *attributed to* a seraph by the human seer? He prefers the second option, with the proviso that "purification ... is spread out ... according to each one's reception of the theurgic participation"[36] (*CH* 13.4, PG 3.305C; my trans.). And so we are to understand that the prophet attributed the purification-bringing mission to a seraph, just as we refer back to our hierarch (bishop) who passes down purification through his subordinate priests and deacons (PG 3.305C). The seraph refers all back to the Deity as first cause (PG 3.305D). Thus the superhuman power was informing Isaiah about the cascade of purification coming down the ranks from the source (PG 3.308A).

In *EH* 4.3.5-10 Pseudo-Dionysius applies this concept further to the ritual consecration of the myron, another element that was to take on importance in non-Chalcedonian separatism.[37] The myron is to be covered by a cloth with twelve folds (πτέρυξιν), corresponding to the sum total of the number of *wings* of both seraphim in Isaiah 6:2 (PG 3.473A, 480B-C). These fiery beings are (pre-)aware of the Incarnation, "that ... Jesus came down among us to make us holy"[38] (*EH* 4.3.10, PG 3.484A). Thus their presence is symbolized before the myron "to demonstrate that Christ remains forever unchanged (ἀναλλοίωτον) even when fully and truly made one of us" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the myron, which symbolizes Christ (*EH* 4.3.4, PG 3.477C-480A, and *EH* 4.3.10-1, PG 3.484A-C), is prescribed by Pseudo-Dionysius to be used for the consecration (τελείωϲιϲ) of an altar or sanctuary (θυϲιαϲτήριον) (*EH* 4.3.12, PG 3.484C). This is just what we find in the Coptic sources.[39]

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[36] Cf. Shaw, *op.cit.* (above, n. 32) 591-5.

[37] Cf. Coquin, *Livre* (above, n. 14) 51-2; H. Brakmann, "Die Kopten–Kirche Jesu Christi in Ägypten: ihre Geschichte und Liturgie," in A. Gerhards and *idem* (eds.), *Die Koptische Kirche: Einführung in das ägyptische Christentum* (Stuttgart 1994) 9-27, esp. 19.

[38] Trans. Luibheid, 231.

[39] See Coquin, "Consécration" (above, n. 14) 156, 166, 176; *id.*, *Livre* (above, n. 14) 61, 114-7 (describing the patriarch's vision of a six-winged seraph [actually

Soteriological and ecclesiological concerns of the kind mentioned above were much to the fore in Umayyad-ruled Egypt, a period when numerous formerly Chalcedonian churches were returned to and reconsecrated in the non-Chalcedonian "Coptic Orthodox" confession under the rulers' new anti-Byzantine policy.[40] Such edifices would have been reprocessed by means of a ritual such as that transmitted by several late Copto-Arabic manuscripts,[41] rituals applied either to the sanctuary proper or to the church building as a whole. (Also, one must distinguish between cases of reconsecration from a "heretic" confession and cases of reconsecration of a reconstructed building or part of a building after previous destruction.)[42]

Though Isaiah 6:1-6 is not recorded as a lection for this reconsecration ritual in our late sources,[43] I should like to venture the hypothesis that *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 7 is a fragment of a leaf from a bilingual liturgical codex that once contained the text of a procedure for reconsecrating a recovered Coptic church (recovered from the Chal-

called a cherub, but conflated] as he approaches the sanctuary), 130-3 (describing his further vision of the hand of Christ during the anointing of the altar with myron). See also Horner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 11, 20-1, 386-9, 445-52; and O.H.E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (Cairo 1967) 229.

[40] Contemporary sources reflect this; see Coquin, *Livre* (above, n. 14) 106-9: "I thank you, my Lord Jesus Christ, because you have made me worthy again to see the *parrhêsia* of the orthodox faith and the flourishing of the holy churches, the destruction and elimination of the godless heretics ... to see the churches again in their glory and their *katastasis* [restoration]." Cf. also L.S.B. MacCoull, "Who was Eusebius of Alexandria?" *ByzSl* 60 (1999) 9-18; C.D.G. Müller, "Benjamin I," *Copt.Encycl.* II, 376-7, and "Agathon of Alexandria," *ibid.* I, 65-6.

[41] The study by Y.N. Youssef, "Les rituels de la reconsécration," in S. Emmel et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) I, 511-5, astonishingly does not mention the parallel texts in J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice 1740, rp. Graz 1960) 494-6.

[42] According to Youssef, *op.cit.* 512-4, Arabophone narrative sources allude to cases of the former type, that is, reconsecration from another confession, while the surviving MSS of liturgical texts (in all examples but one) refer to the latter, that is, to procedures for dealing with a rebuilt, formerly damaged structure. The Byzantine texts do specifically mention "pollution" by "heretics."

[43] *Ibid.* 514.

cedonians). We have seen the convergence of comparanda leading to such a conclusion. Taken in the order ↕ →, we encounter the concepts (↕) "grace ... without shortcoming ... in a [...] voice ... our ... (as a) counterpart (?), (→) ... meet and right ... the six-winged ... cried to [one another?] ... shouting aloud ... ." This is not far from the formulation recorded in Horner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 8 and 10 (372 and 382), in which the "grace [that] fills up shortcomings" (ϣⲁⲧ) is acknowledged and it is prayed that the church should become a choir where the seraphim sing praise.[44]

And so a fragment half the size of an index card can become a window into deep time, into the past of a culture trying to survive. Whether the present hypothesis holds water or the papyrus is simply a reused slip made over from a no-longer-current document, I hope I have made a case for reading both sides of a papyrus, whatever languages may be found there.[45]

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[44] In the following troparion (Horner, *op.cit.* [above, n. 14] 12, 392-3) the "elect cornerstones" are listed as Athanasius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Basil, Dioscorus "who withstood the Tome of Leo," and Theodosius (r. 535-566), called a second Paul and an arch-defender of the faith of Nicaea. This last may provide a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the earlier form of the procedure.

[45] In loving centenary commemoration of C. Bradford Welles (b. 1901), who made his students aware that Coptic often lurked on "the other side;" and also in loving memory, as always, of Mirrit Boutros Ghali (cf. Horner, *op.cit.* 10: [may the church be] "a purifying place for souls").—I should also like once again to thank Arthur Shippee for carefully reading and greatly improving an earlier version of this paper; and the indefatigable Interlibrary Loan Service of Hayden Library, Arizona State University, for obtaining hard-to-find materials.

P.Berl. inv. 21324 Verso
(Photograph reproduced with the permission of the
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Photo by Margarete Büsing)

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Lease of Part of a House and Workshop*

P.Cornell inv. II 43	20 cm x 8.5 cm	Dec. 27-Jan. 25, 362-3
	Plates 4-5	Heracleopolis

This light tan papyrus is in a relatively good state of preservation except for the top, the bottom, and along some of the creases where there is some damage. It seems to have been folded twice, lengthwise, in antiquity; three vertical creases are clearly visible. The upper right-hand corner is damaged and most of the first three lines are missing, although their content can be conjectured from the names on the verso. Between lines 20 and 23, the left fold is missing; the right-hand fold is missing from line 20 to the end of the document. The damage on the right side, both at the top and at the bottom, has occurred along a *kollesis*. The bottom of the papyrus, where the signatures once stood, is broken along a very even line; perhaps it was cut in antiquity or, more likely, after its discovery. Traces of the top of several letters are visible at the break, which probably belong to one of the signatures. Since the document is damaged both at the top and at the bottom, it is hard to determine where the actual consular/regnal year reckoning and date might have stood, although the top is the more likely candidate.

This document presents a fairly standard lease contracted between Aurelia Kyrillous, the lessor, and Aurelius Justus, the les-

* This paper is the result of work done in Traianos Gagos' papyrology seminar at the University of Michigan in the Winter semester of 2000. My introduction to and work on this papyrus would not have been possible without his and Paul Heilporn's generous help. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to both of them, and I would also like to thank the other members of the seminar for their observations, ideas, and criticism. All dates are A.D., unless otherwise indicated.

see.[1] Justus is contracting to rent part of a house and a workshop. The format of the document and the language used are typical of the period, although the terms of the rent raise issues discussed below. A number of minor elements add to the general pool of papyrological knowledge: the document mentions a quarter of the city of Heracleopolis known only from two other papyri, and the description of the house property to be leased adds to our understanding of Roman-period domestic arrangements and economic activity. In addition, the papyrus provides another example of a woman conducting business without any mention of a guardian or of her right to dispense with one. This seems to have become increasingly common from the late third century forward, and the nature of this agreement may provide additional evidence for the sort of context in which women had the opportunity to act independently (see below).

Although the nature of the document is straightforward, there are difficulties in the reconciliation of its date and the monetary amount mentioned. At lines 24-5, the papyrus is missing the space in which the monetary unit accompanying the words "three thousand five hundred" should be found. The unit must thus be drawn from an odd abbreviation before the numerals in the next line. An excellent parallel for this abbreviation has been found in University of Michigan archival photos of *P.Cair.Isid.* 24 and 28. In these instances, the abbreviation clearly stands for "talents." At the same time, the date, inconveniently located in a damaged area of the papyrus, seems to refer to two regnal years: 8 and 6. The only date that corresponds to these two regnal years is 313, year 8 and year 6 of Constantinus and Licinius. But at this date, 3500 talents per year would be an astronomical rent for the property mentioned in the lease. **Table 1** below gives a sense of the amounts paid for leases of various real estate over the course of the fourth century.

[1] An extensive catalogue and discussion of leases is contained in H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur μίcθωcις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*. Erlanger Jurist. Abhandl. 33 (Cologne 1985).

Document	Date	Location	Property rented	Price
P.Mil. II 55	early IV	Oxyrhynchus	whole house	2400 dr./yr
P.Gen. I 10	early IV	Heracleopolite nome	1/4 house	1200 dr./yr
P.Dubl. 31	355	Panopolis	linen-working *ergasterion*	200 tal./yr
P.Abinn. 22	mid-IV	Alexandria	whole house	1500 tal./yr
PSI VI 707	351	Oxyrhynchus	1/2 house	150 tal./yr
P.Oxy. XIV 1695	360	Oxyrhynchus	unspecified no. of rooms + part of exterior court	6000 tal./yr
PSI V 467	360	Oxyrhynchus	one *topos* in a house	800 tal./yr
P.Lips. 17	377	Hermopolis	one *topos* in a house	2500 tal./yr
BGU III 940	398	Heracleopolis	whole house	12000 tal./yr

Table 1. Some fourth century rental agreements with prices charged (information drawn from R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt.* BASP Suppl. 5 [Atlanta 1985] and from Müller, *op.cit.* [above, n. 1]).

Although Bagnall cautions that "house prices are not easily comparable,"[2] it should be clear that an annual rent of 3500 talents is hardly in line with other prices from the early part of the century. One might seek an explanation in the nature of the workshop noted in the agreement: perhaps it included facilities that represented a substantial capital investment. In a majority of the other examples of the sale or lease of workshops, however, the agreement specifically mentions the purpose (and sometimes the equipment) of the workshop (cf. *PSI* IX 1058, the lease of a goldsmithy). Furthermore, an entire pottery works (*kerameion*) in Oxyrhynchus was *sold* for a total of only 15 talents in 324 (*PSI* IV 300). Finally, even in the middle of the fourth century, the lease of a linen-producing workshop in Panopolis brings an annual rent of 200 talents—still far less than the rent charged in our document. From this evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that the nature of the facilities cannot explain the rent being charged. If the document is regarded, then, in the context of other leases of real estate in general, the years from the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century seem to

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[2] Bagnall, *op.cit.* 58.

provide the closest price parallels for this agreement. The house leased for 12000 talents per year in Heracleopolis at the end of the century is in the same neighborhood as the house in this document and provides a good *terminus ante quem*, while the fact that an entire house in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria rented for only 1500 talents per year around the middle of the century might secure this period as a *terminus post quem*. **Table 2** below will put the lease-prices mentioned above into a larger fiscal picture.

Document	**Date**	**Location**	**Type**	**Amount**
P.Oxy. XII 1499	309	Oxyrhynchus	wages for a bath attendant	2000 dr./mo.
PSI X 1037	310	Oxyrhynchus	wages for a *rhabdouchos*	400 dr./day (2 tal./mo.)
SPP X 85 recto	320	?	wages for a *paidagogos*	1 tal./mo.
P.Ryl. IV 629-39	318	lower Egypt	meat	150 dr./lb.
P.Oxy. XLIII 3144	313	Oxyrhynchus	a horse	30 tal.
P.Oxy. XIV 1626	325	Oxyrhynchus	wages for a *rhabdouchos*	2000 dr./day (10 tal./mo.)
SB XIV 11593	338-41	Oxyrhynchus	fowl	5 tal./bird
P.Abinn. 60	346	Oxyrhynchus	a horse	600 talents
PSI IV 287	377	Oxyrhynchus	wages for an apprentice weaver	6000 tal./mo.
P.Oxy. XIV 1753	390	Oxyrhynchus	meat	200 tal./lb.

Table 2. Some wage and cost-of-living information for the fourth century (information drawn from Bagnall, *op.cit.* [above, **Table 1**]).

Again, the disjunction between the rental price in this document and the general cost of living in the early fourth century should be clear, especially if one considers that Aurelius Justus would have paid the equivalent of 291.75 talents in rent for each month. The *ergasterion* mentioned in the document and the fact that he was only a temporary resident of Heracleopolis may identify him as a craftsman or merchant of some sort; even a rich and successful merchant or artisan of the early fourth century would find this rent a heavy, if not impossible, burden.

This problem might be resolved by a closer look at the date of the document. At the end of line 19, there is a clear *eta* after the word ἔτουϲ, and the second numeral is almost certainly a *stigma*; these two letters provide the 8 and 6 mentioned above. There are also, however, at least two letters following the abbreviation for ἔτουϲ after the second numeral. One of these letters seems to be a *nu*, while other traces could belong to an *epsilon* and an *alpha* ; together with the final fragment]νοϲ in the next line, the traces may be restored as ν̣έα̣[ϲ] | [ἰνδικτίω]νοϲ, "of the new indiction." The use of indiction years in dates became more popular in the later part of the fourth century, and the second numeral could be understood to refer to an indiction year rather than a second regnal year. The *eta* seems incontrovertible; if the *stigma* refers to an indiction year, the document should date to 362/3 (year 8 of Julian).[3] This dating is much more consistent with the monetary trends noted in the tables above and therefore seems to fit best with the rest of the document.

Α[ὐ]ρ[ηλία Κυριλλοῦϲ θυγ(άτηρ) Νε–]
μεϲ̣ί̣ω̣[νοϲ Ἥρων . . . . ἀπὸ τῆϲ]
Ἡρακ[λέουϲ πόλεωϲ] Α[ὐρηλίῳ]
Ἰούϲτῳ̣ . κ̣α̣ρου ἀπὸ τῆ[ϲ Ἀρϲινο–]
ιτῶν πόλε̣ωϲ οἰκοῦν[τι ἐν Ἡ̣ρα–]
κλέουϲ [π]όλει χαίρειν.
μεμίϲ[θ]ωκά ϲοι ἀπὸ [τῶν ὑπαρ–]
χόντων μοι ἐν τῆ[αὐτῇ Ἡρα–]
κλέουϲ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νείκω–
νοϲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ϲακκοφόρων
λαύρᾳ ἀπὸ οἰκίαϲ ὅληϲ ἐπάνω
τοῦ π̣υλῶνοϲ τόπον ἕνα ἀνε̣ῳ–
γμένον εἰϲ νότον καὶ τῆϲ αὐλῆϲ
καὶ αἰθρίου καὶ ἐργαϲτηρίου καὶ καλύ–
βηϲ καὶ πάντων τῶν χρηϲτηρί–

[3] The viability of this possibility has been confirmed by R.S. Bagnall (pers. comm., April 2000).

ων τῆc οἰκείαc τὸ μέροc μου ἐπὶ χρό–
νον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα ἀπὸ νου–
μηνίαc τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸc Τῦβι
τοῦ ἐνεcτῶτοc ἔτουc η⸍ ϛ⸍ ν̣έα̣[c]
[ἰνδικτίω]νοc ἐν[οικίου τοῦ cυμ–]
[πεφων]ημένου π[ρὸc ἀλλήλουc]
[τοῦ ὅλ]ου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀ[ργ(υρίου) Cεβαc–]
τῶν νομίcματοc [ταλάντων]
τριcχειλίων πεντα[κοcίων,]
(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) Γʹφ, ἅπερ ἀποδώ[cειc μοι ἐν]
τέλει τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀν[υπερθέτωc]
ἡ μίcθωcιc κυρία καὶ [ἐπερωτηθ(εῖcα)]
ὡμολόγ(ηcα) (vac.)
Traces of the top of letters

Verso
(m.2?) μίcθ(ωcιc) Κυριλλοῦ̣δ̣οc θυγάτηρ Νεμεcιανὸc Ἥρων[

9 Νίκωνοc 24 τριcχιλίων 29 (*verso*) *Κυριλλοῦτοc θυγατρὸc Νεμεcίωνοc*

Aurelia Kyrillous, daughter of Nemesion son of Heron[ ] of Heracleopolis, to Aurelius Justus son of .karos from the city of the Arsinoites who currently lives in Heracleopolis, greetings. I have leased to you from my possessions in the said Heracleopolis in the district of Neikon in the street of the Bag-bearers, from a whole house, one space open to the south above the gate, and my share of the hall and the courtyard and the workshop and the shed and all the appurtenances of the house, for the period of one year from the first of this month Tubi of the current year 8 and 6 of the new indiction (?) for the rent mutually agreed upon for the whole year: three thousand five hundred talents of the silver coinage of the emperors, total 3500 talents, which talents you will hand over to me at the end of the year, without delay. The lease is enforceable and having been asked the formal question I have agreed.

Verso: Agreement of Kyrillous, daughter of Nemesion son of Heron[

1-2 Aurelia Kyrillous, daughter of Nemesion, is not known from any other papyri, although an Aurelia Kyrillous (no patronymic) is seen receiving, on her own account, partial repayment of a debt in an unprovenienced papyrus dated to 306 (*P.Sakaon* 98, tentatively attributed to Theadelphia on the basis of the presence of an identical name in Theadelphia in 321 in *P.Sakaon* 67). The absence of any mention of a guardian in the Cornell document should not be surprising. By the second half of the third century, the presence of a guardian in agreements involving female parties had already become quite rare (see A. Arjava, "The Guardianship of Women in Roman Egypt," *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. APF Beiheft 3. Vol. I [Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997] 25-30). More common in the earlier part of the fourth century was the formal statement that the woman had the right to conduct business without a guardian on the basis of the *ius liberorum*, but even these statements appeared less frequently in the second half of the same century (see J. Sheridan, "Women without a Guardian: An Updated List," *BASP* 33 [1996] 117-31 for the most recent compilation of occurrences and for earlier bibliography). A number of scholars have attempted to identify the reason or reasons behind these changes. Gagos, in his review of *P.Kellis Gr.* I, sees the greater number of women acting without guardians from the third century on as a "resurfacing of the old Egyptian legal traditions," although he discusses the subterranean survival of these traditions in the context of marginal desert areas rather than in connection with major valley settlements like Heracleopolis (T. Gagos, "A Multicultural Community on the Fringes of the Desert: A Review of the Greek Papyri from Kellis," *JRA* 12 [1999] 752-62). Beaucamp, on the other hand, associates the disappearance of guardians in the documents with a more frequent mention of husbands. She identifies the control of the husband over the actions of the wife, especially when they involve the alienation of inherited property, as an increasingly important social and legal issue from the fourth century forward (J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance* [Paris 1992] esp. vol. II, ch. 4). Although Kyrillous' legal status in this particular document

cannot be determined with any precision, it is worth noting that according to Beaucamp's analysis, the nature of this agreement places it among those least likely to mention either a guardian or a formal exemption from guardianship. Of the 33 documents involving the receipt of rent or the lease of land which Beaucamp identifies for the fourth century, 24 "ne font référence ni à l'assistance d'un tuteur ni à l'exemption de la tutelle" (p. 237). Like the women involved in those 24 documents, Kyrillous is merely leasing her property on a temporary basis; she is not arranging a permanent transfer of that property to the other party, and this may explain her independent role here.

2 The length of the lines in this document is usually between 20 and 25 letters. With only the most basic information supplied, this line still needs up to 10 letters. It is most likely that the missing letters form part of Kyrillous' father's patronymic. There are a number of names attested in Egypt that begin with Heron; here, in view of the remains of writing on the verso, one might postulate ʽΗρωνίνου, a relatively common name of approximately the right length for the space.

3-4 According to J. Diethart, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica* I (Vienna 1980), there are no known mentions of the name Ἰοῦϲτοϲ in the area of Arsinoe in the fourth century. In earlier centuries, to judge from Preisigke, *NB*, and the DDBDP, the name is relatively uncommon; when it does appear during that time, it often seems to be associated with Roman ethnicity (in, e.g., *P.Teb.* II 294 and 347, both of the second century, it appears as part of *tria nomina*) and/or social prestige (*P.Ryl.* II 293 mentions an Atilius Justus as a *strategus* in the Hermopolite nome in 122; in *P.Ryl.* II 89 of 191-2, a certain Justus, brother of an Egyptian-sounding Pakusis, is a village elder; and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1205 records an Aurelius Justus, *bouleutes*, in 291). By the sixth and seventh centuries, the name has become much more common in the Arsinoite nome and associations with social status are less definite. It is unclear what implications this name has for the social position of our Aurelius Justus.

His patronymic is of little help in this respect: there is some damage at the beginning of the word, but the remains seem to show a name with one or perhaps two letters followed by -κ̣α̣ρου. No such

names are attested for Egypt; an obvious guess might be Ἴκαρος, but again there are no parallels.

5 The description of Justus as "of the city of the Arsinoites" but currently "dwelling in Heracleopolis" raises a number of questions about his residency status, as well as about the nature of the activity for which he is renting the shop and about his social class. Similar mentions of residency can be found in a number of other documents dating from the third century on. The context of these other documents, however, fails to cast much light on the situation. In some, it seems that the "resident in" clause indicates a temporary arrangement (e.g., *P.Grenf.* II 80-2, in which a man from Hermopolis, performing a liturgy as a rower on the governor's boat, happens to live in Panopolis for only two of the three years covered by the papyri). In other cases, residence seems to be more permanent. In *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67165, the apposition of μέν and δέ reinforces the contrast between the hometown and present domicile of the subject, and in *P.Mich.Aphrod.*, Gagos and van Minnen view the phrase διάγων ἐνταῦθα as a reference to a more permanent arrangement: "an extended stay in another city just short of a permanent change of residence" (note to l. 1a). Nor are there clear socioeconomic similarities among persons described as originating from one town but residing in another. In several lending agreements, the lender or lessor is originally from another locale (*P.Grenf.* I 54; *P.Ryl.* II 170); in other cases, the borrower or lessee is the newcomer (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67165). Furthermore, a number of papyri from Kellis indicate a certain residential fluidity, especially between Kellis and the town of Aphrodite (*P.Kellis* 30, 32, 42, 43). The question is further complicated by Braunert, who suggests that in the case of the populations of the Egyptian metropoleis, the nature of residency may be confused by persistent associations with an original home-city for reasons relating more to legal or social issues than to the permanency of current living arrangements (*Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit.* Bonner Hist. Forsch. 26. [Bonn 1964] 131). The nature of the agreement in our papyrus and its description of Justus make it tempting to see him as a transient artisan or small merchant renting business space. Such an interpretation, however, must remain speculative, since the issues discussed above

show that neither Justus' social standing nor his residency status can be determined without further information.

9-10 An ἀμφοδαρχία Νίκωνος is known for Heracleopolis in the third century (see D. Hagedorn and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Die Stadtviertel von Herakleopolis," *ZPE* 65 [1986] 101-5). The "street of the Bag-bearers" is attested in *BGU* III 940 (398), and presumably refers to a contemporary or past association of the street with people engaged in this profession (cf. the medieval arrangements reflected in Roman street names like the Via Giubbonari and the Via dell'Arco degli Acetari).[4]

14 G. Husson, *OIKIA* (Paris 1983) s.v. ἐργαστήριον, argues that *ergasteria*, as specialized areas, were not usually associated with houses: after noting the relative rarity of the term, she cites a few examples of specific work facilities (fulling establishments, dyeing facilities) that seem to have been independent buildings, and notes some other examples where the term seems to be applied to an undifferentiated part of a house that happened to be used at the time as a workshop. The ἐργαστήριον mentioned in our document seems to be of the latter sort, although the fact that the space is specifically designated an ἐργαστήριον in the lease suggests that it was used as a workshop on a more consistent basis. An excellent parallel from roughly the same time and area can be found in *P.Neph.* 48, a fourth century document from the Heracleopolite nome recording the sale of a house which is described as [οἰκίαν ἐργασ]τ̣ήριον ἤτε κέλλαν ἔχουσαν κέλλας τ[ε ἄλλας δ]ύ̣ο̣ (l. 10), as well as a small linen-working workshop. The fact that the function of the workshop in our document is not defined and the rather indefinite description of the "workshop or utility room" in *P.Neph.* 48 support Husson's suggestion that in a domestic context the term could be applied to a non-residential space, without particular facilities, that was—or could be—used as a workshop (or a storeroom, etc.). The association of an unspecialized ἐργαστήριον with living quarters can also be seen in *P.Berl.Bork* I 4 (Panopolis, 298-320) and *P.Marm.* 1.r (Marmarica, 190).

[4] R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 51 and n. 40, compares the designation of residential areas by professional activity to a similar situation in 18th century Aleppo.

15 The term καλύβη seems to refer generally to small, insubstantial, roofed wooden constructions: shacks, sheds, cabins, huts. It is used to describe shelters on the deck of a ship (e.g., *SB* VI 9365) as well as land-based outbuildings. *P.Neph.* 48 (cf. above) mentions a καλύβη, and it is possible that such simple structures were often found in association with productive facilities, perhaps serving to store equipment or goods. See Husson, *op.cit.* (above, note to l. 14) s. v. καλύβη for more discussion.

16 The use of the phrase τὸ μέρος μου, in conjunction with the earlier mention of a single space over the gate, suggests that an entire share of a house apportioned by inheritance or division is being rented, rather than selected spaces in a single-owner building. Repeated bequeathal of real estate to multiple heirs often resulted in property fragmentation, with the result that a number of people frequently owned specific fractions of the rooms of a building. While J. Rowlandson, "Sales of Land in their Social context," in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 371-8, suggests that women acting without guardians usually did so only in transactions involving property inherited or acquired through marriage, T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, "Documenting the Rural Economy of Byzantine Egypt: Three Papyri from Alabastrine," *JRA* 5 (1992) 186-202, question the universality of such an association.[5] In this case, it is impossible to determine whether Kyrillous is renting property she inherited or property she purchased.

18 Since the imperial titulature and the formal date are lacking in this document, its exact date is mildly problematic. In the body of the agreement, it is specified that the term of the lease will begin on the first of the current month (τοῦδε τοῦ μηνός). But does that mean that the document was drawn up on the first of Tubi (December 27)? According to J.M. Modrzejewski, "Additional Provisions in Private Legal Acts in Greco-Roman Egypt," *JJP* 7-8 (1953-54) 211-29, esp. 221-2, the starting date of the agreement does not

[5] See also D. Hobson, "Women as Property Owners in Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 311-21, and *eand.*, "The Role of Women in the Economic Life of Roman Egypt: A Case Study from First Century Tebtunis," *Echoes du Monde Classique / Classical Views* 28 (1984) 373-90.

have to coincide with the date the agreement is signed, but can be either earlier or later. In this case, the use of τοῦδε suggests that Tubi has already begun, and the actual date of the document itself may be later in December or even in January.

19-20 The date assigned to this document depends on the reconstruction of the remaining letters at the end of line 19 and the beginning of line 20 as νέας ἰνδικτίωνος. With this reconstruction, the numerals should refer to regnal year 8, year 6 of the new indiction, a combination that could only appear during the eighth year of the reign of Julian in 362/3 (see introduction).

25 The abbreviation of the monetary unit before the numerals in this line has convincing parallels in *P.Cair.Isid.* 24 and 28, where the context clearly indicates that it stands for "talents" (see introduction).

29 The somewhat more rounded form of the letters on the verso, the use of an h-shaped *eta* in contrast to the H-shaped version on the recto, and the multiple mistakes in spelling and grammar (even in a word spelled correctly on the recto, Νεμεσίωνος) may indicate the work of a second hand, perhaps even that of Aurelia Kyrillous herself. Since Kyrillous' subscription is unavailable for comparison, however, it is equally possible that the original scribe simply wrote the label of the document faster and more carelessly. For the father's patronymic, see note to l. 2.

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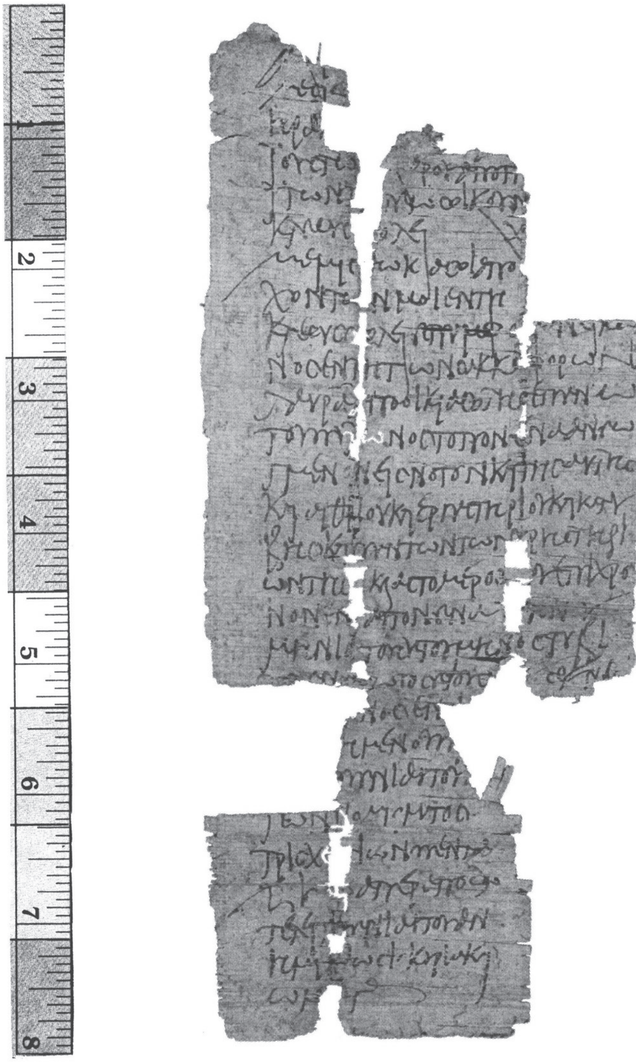
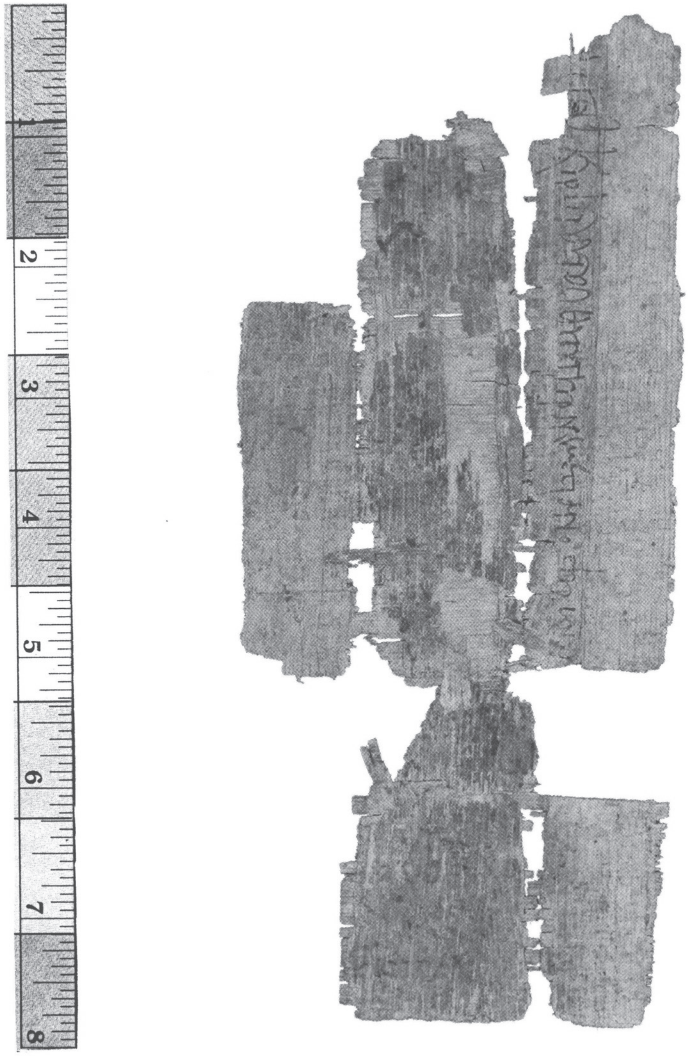
Plate 4 **(to Rabinowitz, "Lease of a House ...")**



P.Corn. inv. II 43, Recto
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the Papyrology Collection, Univesity of Michigan)



P.Corn. inv. II 43, Verso
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the Papyrology Collection, Univesity of Michigan)

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Brothers or Lovers? A New Reading of the "Tondo of the Two Brothers"

(Plate 6)

In the last decade, the genre of Roman painted portraiture that was first discovered in the cemeteries of Egypt's Fayum Oasis has inspired a series of important publications, conferences and international exhibitions.[1] Primarily painted on wooden panels, these vivid likenesses are persistently termed Fayum portraits, despite the fact that they have been discovered in other regions of Egypt as well. They are best attested in funerary contexts, where the majority served as portraits inserted into Egyptian-style mummy wrappings. While nineteenth-century archaeologists and art dealers routinely excised these panel portraits from Roman mummies, current research seeks to redress such sins of the past by recontextualizing the compelling ancient faces. Scholars now give equal weight to their dual significance as heirs to native Pharaonic Egyptian funerary traditions and as a new mode of classically-inspired Roman provincial self-presentation.[2]

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[1] See especially E. Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt*, exhibition catalog, The British Museum (London 1995); L.H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums* (Chicago 1995); S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London 1997); M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London 1997); *Fayoum's Portraits*, exhibition catalog, Mr. and Mrs. Mohammed Khalil Museum (Cairo 1997); M.-F. Aubert and R. Cortopassi, *Portraits de l'Égypte romaine*, exhibition catalog, Musée du Louvre (Paris 1998) and S. Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, exhibition catalog, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York 2000).

[2] This paper grew out of an undergraduate course on Graeco-Roman Egypt as an ancient multicultural society which I taught at Kalamazoo College in Fall 1999. In the culminating assignment, students analyzed a Roman mummy portrait of their choice as an example of the artistic integration of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman traditions in funerary portraiture. I am grateful to all thirteen students in that course for their enthusiastic and sophisticated engagement with

In the same years, a growing body of research on Roman, as opposed to Greek, homosexuality and constructions of masculinity has further enriched our understanding of the panel portraits.[3] The time therefore seems auspicious for a reassessment of one of the most intriguing painted portraits from Roman Egypt, the so-called Tondo of the Two Brothers now in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (Plate 6).[4] In her study of the New Kingdom cemeteries of Deir el Medina, Lynn Meskell has advocated the practice of an archaeology of individuals articulated through the discourse of postprocessual archaeological theory.[5] Although her main interest lay in the burials of a Pharaonic settlement, Meskell also cited the mummy portraits of Roman Egypt as another archaeological corpus through which scholars might conceivably access ancient individuals, real

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this material. In particular, I thank Sharika Crawford and Boohe Holder, both of whom wrote on the Antinoopolis tondo and the question posed in the title of this paper, helping to convince me that a speculation I originally offered somewhat facetiously in class merited more serious consideration.

[3] Recent publications of particular relevance to this study include C.A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York and Oxford 1999); J. Pollini, "The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver," *ArtB* 81 (1999) 21-52; J.R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 B.C.-A.D. 250* (Berkeley 1998); L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (eds.), *Thinking Men: Masculinity and its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition* (London 1998); *id.,When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (London and New York 1998); J.P. Hallett and M.B. Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton 1997); M.W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton 1995). For Graeco-Roman Egypt, see D. Montserrat, "Experiencing the Male Body in Roman Egypt," in *When Men Were Men* (above, this note) 153-64, and *id., Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London and New York 1996); also T.G. Wilfong et al., *Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, exhibition catalog, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (Ann Arbor 1997).

[4] Inv. CG33267. For a recent summary of received opinion, see Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 151 and 211-2. For full bibliography, see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966) 67-8, n. 58 and D.L. Thompson, *The Classes and Hands of Painted Funerary Portraits from Antinoopolis*, Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill 1972) 78-9.

[5] L. Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 1999) and *ead.*, "Embodying Archaeology: Theory and Praxis," *BASP* 37 (2000) 171-92.

people of the past who had left traces of their human intentionality in the archaeological record.[6] By applying to the Tondo of the Two Brothers insights drawn from recent classical scholarship on issues that Meskell has grouped together under the rubric of age, sex, class, ethnicity *et cetera*,[7] this paper employs art historical analysis in an attempt to locate the individual and search for the construction of identity or self[8] in one unique work of Roman portraiture. A new identity—that of male lovers—emerges to challenge the traditional assumption that a paired portrait of two men from Roman Egypt could only depict fraternal siblings.

The Tondo of the Two Brothers, an unusual life-sized double portrait of two young men painted on a circular wooden panel, came to light during the 1898/99 season of Albert Gayet's French excavations at Antinoopolis in Middle Egypt. Beyond this, Klaus Parlasca has noted, we know nothing about the circumstances of its discovery.[9] Although never utilized as a mummy portrait *per se*, the tondo was most probably found in a funerary context, where it may have been displayed in the chapel or banquet hall of a family tomb.[10] Gayet conducted campaigns in the cemeteries of Antinoopolis until 1911, uncovering numerous high-quality mummy portraits painted on wooden panels and linen shrouds.[11]

On contextual, stylistic and iconographic grounds, the Antinoopolis tondo is generally dated to the 130s or 140s C.E. It depicts two men who stand side by side and are contrasted with one another in skin color and age-indicators such as facial hair, wrinkles and costume. The light-complexioned, smooth-skinned adolescent on the

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[6] Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (above, n. 5) 15-8 and "Embodying Archaeology" (above, n. 5) 181-3.

[7] Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life* (above, n. 5) 137.

[8] Meskell, "Embodying Archaeology" (above, n. 5) 183.

[9] Parlasca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 70: "Über seine Fundumstände wissen wir nichts, obgleich es aus offiziellen französischen Grabungen stammt."

[10] See D. Montserrat, "Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayum," in Bierbrier (ed.), *op. cit.* (above, n. 1) 33-44.

[11] Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 150-2 and L. Del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe cent'anni dopo. Le meraviglie della cittá fondata dall'imperatore Adriano in Egitto*, exhibition catalog, Palazzo Medici Riccardi (Firenze 1998) 15-8.

left, whose upper lip bears only the faintest trace of a downy moustache, appears distinctly younger than his darker-skinned companion, who exhibits a fuller moustache, light chin beard and forehead scored by two horizontal furrows. The youth on the left wears a purplish-red *chlamys* that indicates his status as an ephebe,[12] while the deeply tanned man on the right wears the white toga-like mantle of manhood. The gilded statuette of a male deity hovers protectively above the outer shoulder of each figure. Only one asymmetrical element intrudes into the otherwise carefully balanced composition of the tondo. This is a single Egyptian date, 15 Pachon (May 10), which is inscribed along its left border, just above the shoulder of the younger man and next to the base of the adjacent statuette.

In 1912, Emile Guimet identified the subjects of the tondo as "deux frères sans doute," an interpretation that has gone essentially unchallenged ever since.[13] Scholars have tended to emphasize the physical resemblance between the alleged siblings, while ascribing their strikingly different skin tones to racially mixed parentage—possibly a Greek father and an Egyptian mother.[14] In an influential 1993 article, however, Dominic Montserrat significantly advanced our understanding of the Antinoopolis tondo by including its portraits in a group of stereotypical depictions of post-adolescents "... [that were] strongly connotative of the thirteen/fourteen to twenty age category, the age when males were conceived as being at the apogee of their sexual desirability, and also the age at which

[12] On the red, crimson or purplish cloak as part of the Athenian ephebic uniform, see J. J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*," in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama and its Social Context* (Princeton 1990) 35, n. 43 and P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Cloaks of the Ephebes," *PCPS* 196 (1970) 113-6. Maxwell-Stuart collected 54 polychrome examples of *chlamys*-clad ephebes on fifth-century B.C.E. white-ground lekythoi. He noted (p. 114) that the vast majority (32) of these ephebes wore red cloaks, while another "7, or perhaps 8, [wore] purple or a purple border, or violet-bordered cloaks." Winkler cites Artemidoros (*Oneirokritika* I.54) as evidence that three colors of ephebic cloak—white, black and crimson—were still in vogue in the later second century C.E., not long after the date of the Antinoopolis tondo.

[13] E. Guimet, *Les Portraits d'Antinoé au Musée Guimet* (Paris 1912) 9.

[14] Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 212.

elite youths underwent their formal social integration."[15] Indeed, when viewed in the context of other examples of Montserrat's "clearly differentiated portrait type ... of the adolescent male, post-pubertal and with a slight downy moustache," the two men on the tondo seem to resemble each other no more closely than either of them resemble any number of non-related contemporary age-mates.[16] Montserrat did not address directly the traditional identification of the tondo portraits as brothers. He concluded only that "the Antinoopolis tondo is an anomaly within the corpus of funerary portraits, and one wonders whether its unique format and array of symbols might commemorate something unusual about the two deceased men, such as the circumstances of death."[17]

This paper argues that the double portrait from Antinoopolis evoked its subjects' circumstances of life rather than death; that, within its historical and cultural context, the Antinoopolis tondo can plausibly be read as a portrait of two male lovers. Several lines of evidence support this provocative, and admittedly unprovable, reinterpretation of the tondo. To begin with, the tondo is a work of art from Antinoopolis, the city founded by the emperor Hadrian to commemorate the untimely death of his young favorite, Antinoos. The foundation of Antinoopolis on Oct. 30, 130 C.E. was one of Hadrian's many notoriously excessive expressions of grief over the loss of his beloved Antinoos. But the connection between Antinoopolis and the emperor's tragedy was especially direct and personal—Antinoos had met his death by drowning in the Nile at the very spot where Hadrian established the eponymous city in his honor. Here Antinoos was conflated with Osiris, the native Egyptian god of the dead, and worshipped as Osirantinoos, patron god of

[15] D. Montserrat, "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits'," *JEA* 79 (1993) 225.

[16] *Ibid.* 216 and pls. XXII-XXIII. For additional examples of Montserrat's youthful male type, see now the excellent photographs in Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1), especially no. 32 (p. 50) (this portrait may be compared more closely to the older male on the Antinoopolis tondo than to the ephebe), nos. 37 and 38 (pp. 54-55), nos. 45 and 46 (pp. 60-61), no. 57 and 58 (p. 70), no. 69 (p. 77), no. 74 (p. 105), no. 78 (p. 109), no. 87 (p. 115), no. 89 (p. 117), no. 114 (p. 175), and no. 117 (p. 178).

[17] Montserrat, *ibid.* 221 and n. 39.

the new city. The findspot of the tondo was therefore a living memorial to the romantic relationship between a mature bearded emperor and his young male lover, both destined for posthumous deification. If there was ever a time and place where provincial male lovers could follow Roman imperial fashion by commemorating their attachment in funerary portraiture, it was Hadrianic Antinoopolis in Egypt.

The official portrait types of Hadrian and Antinoos, if not their relationship, clearly influenced styles of representation in contemporary mummy portraits.[18] The iconography of the tondo, however, indicates that its subjects intentionally modeled themselves upon the imperial pair of Hadrian and Antinoos. Half the length of the portraits is devoted to carefully rendered costumes that functioned as status symbols. Clothing identified the ephebe on the left and the citizen on the right as members of the Hellenized metropolitan elite of Antinoopolis, to whom Hadrian accorded special civic privileges.[19] The tondo further linked imperial favor in life with the hope of deification after death. Parlasca has identified the golden gods on the tondo as Osirantinoos and Hermanubis.[20] Osirantinoos stands beside the ephebe, associating him with the deified lover of Hadrian through the Roman funerary practice of private deification.[21]

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[18] For male mummy portraits dated to the Hadrianic period on the basis of comparisons to imperial hair and beard styles, see Walker and Bierbrier, *op. cit.* (above, n. 1) cat. nos. 43-4 (pp. 66-7) and nos. 80–2 (pp. 90-92).

[19] H.I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," *JRS* 30 (1940) 133-47.

[20] Parlasca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 70-1.

[21] For the history of private deification in Roman funerary art, see H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum: Vergöttliche Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1981). Elsewhere in the Roman Empire, funerary portraits that depicted private citizens in the guise of a particular god or goddess embodied the eschatological concept of posthumous deification. In Roman Egypt, the traditional Egyptian hope for resurrection through assimilation to Osiris was more often expressed in ritual scenes that were painted on mummy cases and shrouds. Osiris and Anubis, the gods who appear on the Antinoopolis tondo—conflated with Antinoos and Hermes, respectively—still figured prominently in the decoration of Roman period mummy-cases; see L.H. Corcoran, "Mysticism and the Mummy Portraits," in Bierbier (ed.), *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 45-53. The tondo's pairing of the ephebe with Osirantinoos and his older companion with Hermanubis was un-

Hermanubis, a syncretistic divinity who integrated the Graeco-Roman Hermes Psychopompos with Anubis, Egyptian god of mummification, promises an afterlife to the mature citizen as well. It is worth noting that both Romano-Egyptian gods on the tondo are portrayed in a wholly classical figurative style; only the crowns of the deities make a nod in the direction of traditional Egyptian religious iconography.[22] The fully frontal adult male nudity of the left-hand figure and relaxed contrapposto stance of Osirantinoos and Hermanubis, for example, are foreign to the Pharaonic artistic canon for representation of Egyptian deities. The classicizing style of the tondo painting suggests that its subjects deliberately chose to identify themselves with the philhellenic preferences and policies of the emperor Hadrian.[23]

The figures of Osirantinoos and Hermanubis may also have a bearing on the degree of consanguinity that existed between the two men depicted on the tondo. If read as pictograms, the statuettes could contain symbolic clues to the tribal and demotic affiliations of these men.[24] One attested tribe of Antinoopolis was the Osiranti-

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doubtedly intended to symbolize that each mortal merged with his juxtaposed deity in the afterlife.

22 On the classicizing formal vocabulary of the figure of Osirantinoos, see H. Meyer, *Antinoos: Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten* (Munich 1991) 255-8.

23 Other choices were available to patrons in second-century C.E. Egypt. See, for example, three painted linen shrouds from Saqqara and Memphis: Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) nos. 13-4 (pp. 20-1) and Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces*, (above, no. 1) no. 56 (pp. 95-7). In these full-length portraits, the deceased men wear Graeco-Roman tunics and mantles, but are flanked by Egyptian gods of the afterlife who appear in traditional Pharaonic form: mummiform Osiris and theriomorphic, jackal-headed Anubis.

24 On the Pharaonic Egyptian penchant for including, especially in tomb painting, encoded scenes that can be read on several different levels, see P. Derchain, "Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life," *Royal Anthropological Institute Newsletter* 15 (1976) 6-10; G. Robins, "Ancient Egyptian Sexuality," *Discussions in Egyptology* 11 (1988) 61-72 and *ead.*, "Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art," *Discussions in Egyptology* 17 (1990) 45-58. A number of the tomb scenes in which Robins detects multivalent mythological references, symbolic meanings and verbal puns (*ibid.* 55) include a sexual or erotic dimension, about which she cautions (p. 50) that "we have to re-

noite, which included the deme-names *Bithyneius* and *Hermaieus*.[25] The statuette of Osirantinoos could therefore refer to the adjacent ephebe's membership in the Osirantinoite tribe and the Bithyneian deme, which took its name from the homeland of Antinoos. By the same token, Hermanubis could signify that the man next to him belonged to the Osirantinoite deme that was named after Hermes. This hypothesis has obvious implications in regard to the question of kinship. Brothers would necessarily belong to the same deme; lovers need not.

If one admits the possibility that the Antinoite pair could be lovers instead of brothers, then the single inscribed date on the tondo assumes a new importance, as evidence for a male-male relationship which may have paralleled that of Hadrian and Antinoos in more ways than the sexual. Because dates rarely appear on panel portraits, scholars have tended to see 15 Pachon as a day of special significance, the date of a tragic double death met by both men on the tondo.[26] However, in jarring contrast to the otherwise harmonious symmetry of the double portrait, the date was written in a spot where it would logically refer only to the ephebe on the left side of the tondo. Although there was adequate space to center a common date of death between the two portraits, 15 Pachon was inscribed directly above the outer shoulder of the ephebe and alongside the statuette of Osirantinoos, the emblem of his deification. Here the date is as far away as compositionally possible from the man on the right. In view of the placement of the date on the tondo, it is difficult not to speculate that we are looking at a pair of male lovers who shared the same sad fate as Hadrian and Antinoos, with the younger partner predeceasing the elder. One even wonders

member, however, that in a funerary context, sexuality was not an end in itself but a necessary prerequisite for birth and thus rebirth into the afterlife". In a more popular publication, D. O'Connor, "Eros in Egypt," *Archaeology Odyssey* 4, no. 5 (2001) 42-51 has recently brought the discussion of erotic encodement in Egyptian art (p. 47) to a wider audience.

25 Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19) 140-1.

26 Parlasca, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 70-1. Montserrat, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 221, especially n. 39, suggests that, like Antinoos, "maybe both men were drowned on 15 Pachon and the portraits painted as a substitute for their bodies, which may never have been recovered."

whether a posthumous painted portrait of the emperor and his beloved, perhaps displayed in an Antinoite public building dedicated to the deified Antinoos, might have provided inspiration for the private portraits on the tondo.[27]

In contrast to the volubility of Graeco-Roman sources, the Pharaonic Egyptian record, both literary and artistic, is comparatively silent on the subject of homosexuality. For this reason, it is worth noting that one of the rare Dynastic homoerotic texts, the *Tale of Neferkare and Sasenet*, provides a native Egyptian royal paradigm for, if not an exact parallel to, the male-male relationship of Hadrian and Antinoos. In this tale, preserved in manuscripts that date from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasties, the Old Kingdom Pharaoh Neferkare enjoyed a sustained affair with his military commander Sasenet.[28] Neferkare clandestinely visited the general's home every night for trysts that lasted four hours, during which time the pharaoh "did what he desired" with Sasenet. The tone of this tale is surprisingly non-judgmental, given the predominately condemnatory attitude toward homosexuality found in other Pharaonic sources, such as wisdom or didactic literature. Satisfying same-sex desires without negative consequences may have been a royal prerogative. R.B. Parkinson has concluded that the Egyptians recognized sexual desire between men "... and the low-key presentation of the relationship in the *Tale of Neferkare and Sasenet* implies that there were liaisons between men in elite circles, despite public disapproval."[29] In view of this background, it is not inconceivable that a second-century C.E. portrait of two educated and elite male lovers from Antinoopolis in Egypt could have

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[27] See M. Nowicka, *Le Portrait dans la peinture antique* (Warsaw 1993) 35-6 for discussion of Fronto, *Ep*. 4.12.35, a passage often cited as evidence for the prevalence and popularity of painted portraits of the emperor in the Roman empire.

[28] G. Posener, "Le Conte de Néferkarè et du Gènéral Siséné (Recherches littéraires IV)," *RdE* 11 (1957) 119-37; J. van Dijk, "The Nocturnal Wanderings of King Neferkare," in C. Berger et al. (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV (Cairo 1994) 387-93; and R.B. Parkinson, "'Homosexual' Desire and Middle Kingdom Literature," *JEA* 81 (1995) 57-76.

[29] Parkinson, *ibid.* 76. See also Montserrat, *Sex and Society* (above, n. 3) 136-62, and especially 139-44.

alluded to positive royal role models from the arcane Pharaonic past as well as in contemporary Roman society.

When we turn to the different skin colors of the two men from Antinoopolis, we find another encoded message, one with specifically homoerotic overtones more suggestive of a romantic than familial relationship. In both Pharaonic Egypt and the Classical world, skin color was an index of gender and sexuality as well as race. Throughout Dynastic history, Egyptian women were conventionally depicted as light-complexioned; men usually had reddish-brown skin. This gendered distinction in skin color can be traced continuously in Egyptian funerary art from Old Kingdom masterpieces such as the portrait statues of the princely couple Rahotep and Nofret through New Kingdom tomb paintings of private citizens in Thebes.[30] Although less commented upon, the same holds true in Roman painted portraits of heterosexual couples, such as the famous Pompeian portrait of a literate husband and wife in which the woman's pale, porcelain-like complexion contrasts with the tanned skin of her spouse.[31] Nor did Pompeian painting restrict gendered coloration to mortals. In many Pompeian pairs of heterosexual mythological lovers, such as Mars and Venus and Polyphemus and Galatea, dark-skinned males embrace fair-skinned females.[32] The Berlin tondo, the only extant example of a painted group portrait of an imperial family, reveals that in at least one painted portrait of a Roman emperor and empress were represented

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[30] For excellent recent color photographs of Rahotep and Nofret (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Inv. CG 3-4) see F. Tiradritti (ed.), *Treasures of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo 1999) 62-3; for Theban tomb painting, see S. Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes* (Ithaca, N.Y. 2000).

[31] Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 9058; see D.L. Thompson, "Painted Portraiture at Pompeii," in *Pompeii and the Vesuvian Landscape* (Washington, D.C. 1979) 78-92.

[32] For Mars and Venus from the House of Fatal Love (Naples, MN) see E. Lessing and A. Varone, *Pompeii* (Paris 1996) 130 and 132; for Polyphemus and Galatea from the House of the Ancient Hunt (Naples, MN, Inv. 27687), see A. De Simone and M.T. Merella, "The Collection," in M. Grant, *Eros in Pompeii: The Erotic Art Collection of the Museum of Naples* (New York 1975) 152-3. Similar examples abound, but a comprehensive catalog lies beyond the scope of this paper. In literature also, cf. Theocritus XI 19-21 (of Galatea's skin).

by using this same convention in the early third century C.E.[33] In the Berlin tondo, the skin of Septimius Severus is several shades darker than that of Julia Domna and the child princes Caracalla and Geta.[34]

As the white-faced visage of the boyish Berlin Caracalla attests, to the Romans skin color did not signify gender alone. Roman poetry is replete with white-skinned boys and men whose pale, hairless complexions often connote youth, homoerotic sex appeal, effeminacy and passivity in same-sex relations.[35] Catullus 93, for example, dismisses Julius Caesar with the words:

Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere,

nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.

"I have no desire to please you, Caesar,

or even to know whether you are *a white man or a black man*" (my italics).[36]

The poem implies that one would have to know whether Julius Caesar was *albus an ater homo* in order to please him, a proverbial expression that has also been read as a sexual *double entendre* equating white skin with the receptive role in homosexual intercourse and dark skin with the penetrator.[37]

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[33] Berlin, Antikenmuseum, Inv. 31329; see H. Heinen, "Herrscherkult im römischen Ägypten und *Damnatio Memoriae* Getas: Überlegungen zum Berliner Severertondo und zu Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XII 1449," *RM* 98 (1991) 263-98.

[34] Although the portrait head of Geta has been erased, his white-skinned neck survived the act of the *damnatio memoriae*.

[35] See, for example, D. Hine, *Puerilities: Erotic Epigrams of the Greek Anthology* (Princeton and Oxford 2001), a new translation of *The Palatine Anthology*, a collection of Hellenistic and Roman erotic poetry "compiled at the court of Hadrian in the second century C.E." (p. ix). Although prepubescent hairlessness is by far the most frequently cited physical feature of seductive boys in the *Musa Puerilis*, several poems also acknowledge the sex appeal of skin color. See in particular Book 12.5, 165 and 244, all of which playfully debate the comparative desirability of boys with white, honey-colored and golden complexions.

[36] Translation adapted from D.F.S. Thomson, *Catullus. Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary* (Toronto 1997) 523-4.

[37] S. Posch, "*Albus an ater homo*. Zu C. c. 93," *Serta Philologica Aenipontana* 3 (1979) 319-36; V. Ingemann, "*Albus an ater* – A Double Entendre in C. 93?" *Classica et Mediaevalia* 33 (1981-2) 145-50; E. Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (New Haven and London 1992) 156-9. The association of pale skin with the receptive partner in sexual intercourse has a long history in Italy. For a

One of Martial's epigrams (Book 4.42) is more explicit on the subject of the sex appeal of white-skinned youths. Significantly, there is an almost exact physical correlation between Martial's description of his ideal boy lover in this poem and the painted portrait of the Antinoite ephebe, especially in their shared focus on the face as the site of desirability:

> If perchance somebody could give me what I ask, hear, Flaccus, what sort of boy I should like to ask for. First, let this boy be born in the land of the Nile; no country knows better how to give naughty ways. Let him be whiter than snow; for in dusky Mareotis that complexion gains beauty in proportion to its rarity. Let his eyes rival stars and soft tresses float upon his neck; curly hair, Flaccus, is not to my liking. Let his forehead be low and his nostrils not too large and slightly aquiline, let his red lips vie with the roses of Paestum. Let him often force me when I am not in the mood and refuse me when I am, let him often make freer than his master. Let him have no fear of the boys and often shut out the girls; let him be a man to all besides, a boy to me only. I know now, you don't fool me; it's true and I too so judge. Such, you will say, was my Amazonicus.[38]

Not only is the skin of the painted Egyptian youth in the tondo much fairer than that of his older companion, his hair is also less tightly curled, with two stray wisps falling down along the neck; in addition, the ephebe's forehead is distinctly lower, his nose narrower, and his lips pinker than those of the man beside him. Indeed, it is virtually impossible to envisage a more perfect embodiment of Martial's homoerotic wish-list than the physiognomy of the Antinoite ephebe.

In the Roman world, however, there was a crucial status distinction between the object of Martial's lust and the ephebe from Antinoopolis. The former was a social inferior, a foreign slave boy,

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graphic Etruscan representation, see the two explicit sex scenes, one heterosexual and one homosexual, painted on the main rear wall of the Tomb of the Bulls in Tarquinia. In both depictions of sexual intercourse, the passive partners (a woman in the *ménage à trois* on the left and a man in the male-male couple on the right) have much lighter skin than their respective penetrators. See C. Miles with J.J. Norwich, *Love in the Ancient World* (London 1999) 110-5. I thank Nancy de Grummond for suggesting, when I presented an earlier version of this paper at the 2001 CAMWS Annual Meeting in Provo, Utah, that I include a reference to the Etruscan erotic groups.

[38] I quote the translation of D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Martial. Epigrams* I. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA and London 1993) 311.

while both men in the Antinoopolis tondo were represented as members of the enfranchised elite. As Craig Williams has pointed out, "the Greek tradition of pederasty, whereby citizen males might openly engage in romantic and sexual relationships with freeborn adolescent males who would one day be citizens, in Roman terms was *stuprum*; it was disgraceful, illicit behavior."[39] Egypt, however, had been ruled and colonized by Greeks for three hundred years before it became a Roman province, and continued to draw upon this rich Hellenistic heritage throughout the imperial period. Hadrian's primary recruiting ground for the first settlers at Antinoopolis were the Ptolemaic towns and cities of the Fayum and Upper Egypt. Official Roman documents referred to these settlers as the Greek men and addressed the Antinoites as the New Greeks.[40] Antinoopolis was far from Rome, and its citizens were both self-styled and legally classified as *hellenes*; their preeminent local social institution remained the Greek gymnasium. One may reasonably doubt that a rigid Roman sexual paradigm, often not strictly observed even in the capital city, prevailed amidst the gymnasium culture of ephebes and post-adolescent citizens in Antinoopolis.[41]

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[39] Williams, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 62. For discussion of this poem in connection with Roman sculptural "images of youthful males characterized by a soft, just-pubescent physique and a relaxed, soignée pose," see E. Bartman, "Eros's Flame: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture," in E. Gazda (ed.), *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*. MAAR, Suppl. 1 (forthcoming) 249-71. I thank Elizabeth Bartman for making this article available to me in advance of publication.

[40] Bell, *op.cit.* (above, n. 19).

[41] Based upon his analysis of four papyrus documents, B. Legras, "L'homosexualité masculine á travers les papyrus grecs d'Égypte: droit et morale," in E. Cantarella and G. Thür (eds.), *Symposion 1997. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte. Altafiumara, 8.-14. September 1997* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2001) 269-84 has argued that an increasingly negative attitude toward male homosexual relationships developed in Egypt during the second and third centuries C.E. Montserrat, *Sex and Society* (above, n. 3) 144-58 discussed much of the same textual material and concluded (p. 161) that "the evidence for same-sex relationships does not demonstrate any single prevailing attitude about their aetiology or their social conception." In view of the scarcity of papyrological evidence for male same-sex relationships in Roman Egypt, I am inclined to follow Montserrat rather than Legras. I thank the anonymous *BASP* reviewer for providing me with a copy of Legras' article.

The composition of the Antinoopolis tondo seems to imply that the two men were a Greek-style same-sex couple rather than siblings or platonic friends (in the modern sense). The light-skinned, red-cloaked ephebe stands to the left and just in front of his older, darker-skinned, togate companion. Comparisons with the Pompeian spouses and the Berlin tondo cited above are also instructive here. In both portraits, the light-skinned women also stand to the left of their more deeply tanned husbands. Like the Antinoite ephebe, the Pompeian *matrona* occupies the foreground of the portrait, while Julia Domna, presumably in deference to Septimius Severus' rank as emperor and her sons' status as heirs to the throne, has modestly stepped into the background, behind the male members of her family. The Antinoopolis tondo thus places the younger, fairer member of its pair on the left-hand, woman's side of its portrait, in exactly the same position as the Pompeian wife, who shares his status as a private citizen.[42]

The Antinoite men also mirror the dress code of the Pompeian couple and the Severan royal family, which has the effect of further feminizing the ephebe through personal adornment. Both ephebe and *matrona* are draped in wine-red, while adult Antinoite and Pompeian husband alike wear white. Gendered coloration appears in the elaborate imperial costumes on the Berlin tondo, too. Julia Domna's *clavi* are purplish red in hue; those of her male relatives, golden yellow. The Pompeian wife wears earrings, while pearls adorn the ears and encircle the neck of Julia Domna. The ensemble of the Antinoite ephebe also includes jewelry. A glittering gemstone broach fastens his ruby-red *chlamys* at the shoulder, over a white tunic whose neckline and sleeve are decorated, respectively, with a red embroidered border and geometric designs. In contrast, only one purple *clavus*, barely glimpsed beneath the mantle, enlivens the plain white robes of his companion. Significantly, the eye-catching scarlet swastika on the left shoulder of the ephebe is a time-honored fertility symbol.[43] Its prominent position may be apotropaic, intended to counteract the inevitable and regrettable

[42] On the anatomical association of the right-hand side with masculinity and the left with femininity, see Gleason, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 59.

[43] Doxiadis, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 211.

sterility of the ephebe's mortal sexual life, lest he be denied rebirth into an eternal afterlife.

While not unparalleled, the brooch and richly embroidered garments worn by the Antinoite ephebe were not standard issue for men in the painted portraits of Roman Egypt. Exactly the opposite was true for women, whose portraits were frequently draped in multi-colored robes and encrusted with earrings and necklaces.[44] The colorful, embroidered and bedizened costume of the Antinoite ephebe was thus more appropriate to an effeminate *puer delicatus* than to an exemplar of the achieved state of Roman manhood.[45] In every respect, therefore—age, skin color, compositional placement, and *habitus*—the ephebe in the Antinoopolis tondo conforms to the Graeco-Roman ideal of a desirable and receptive *eromenos*; the older, sun-bronzed togate citizen to that of a mature and vigorous *erastes*.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the construction of the tondo, which is made up of two pieces of wood joined at the middle, exactly between the portraits. This format seems designed to facilitate the tondo's eventual detachment into two separate, intact images. Split in half, the tondo could have been cut down into two individual mummy portraits, one for each of the men. Does the fact that this double portrait was never reworked imply that the two men shared a physical and emotional bond in life that was privileged over their bodily separation into autonomous mummies after death? Was the Antinoopolis tondo more the portrait of a *relationship* than that of two individuals? Some surviving relative obviously decided to respect the integrity of the tondo. Perhaps permanently displayed in the funerary chapel *cum* banquet chamber of a family tomb at Antinoopolis, the tondo would have preserved the treasured memory of two local counterparts to Hadrian and Antinoos, deified male lovers temporarily separated by the premature death of the younger partner, but ultimately reunited for eternity through the power of portraiture.

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[44] On the role of jewelry as a signifier of gender, see J. Trimble, "Fayum Portraits in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology: Representing Gender and Status in Roman Egypt," in Wilfong et al., *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 60-2.

[45] Gleason, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 159.

This analysis of the Antinoopolis tondo argues that the case in favor of its interpretation as a double portrait of male lovers is at least as grounded in contextual evidence as the unexamined assumption that it represents the progeny of a miscegenic Greek/ Egyptian marriage. In fact, the results of this inquiry encourage me to ask whether the tondo was as anomalous in its own time and place as it appears today. I close with one last question: how many extant mummy portraits of pale eroticized youths and ruddy adult men in their prime might once have formed halves of paired double portraits of male lovers?

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(to Haeckl, "Brothers or Lovers ...") **Plate 6**

(Cairo Egyptian Museum Inv. CG 33267;
Photo after *Fayoum's Portraits*, exhibition catalog,
Mr. and Mrs. Mohammed Khalil Museum, Cairo 1997)

Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 38 (2001) 79-87

The Spathion Jar in the Papyri*

In recent papers Ph. Mayerson (hereafter M.) suggested that the cπαθίον (sometimes spelled cπατίον),[1] a Greek technical term found in the papyri from Egypt for a container of (mostly) liquids, should be identified with a Syriac measure "Sabitha/Sapation" known from the Syriac version of Epiphanius' *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*.[2] This Syriac measure is known to have been reckoned in the city of Askalon as the equivalent of 22 sextarii vs. that of 14 sextarii in the city of Gaza.

Though at first sight M.'s suggested identification seems illuminating for the question of the Greek word's problematical etymology,[3] in the final analysis his argument is not convincing.

1. His lapidary statement "In Egypt, however, cπάτιον designated a wineskin" (*ZPE* 121 [1998] 227 middle) is not backed up by any (circumstantial) evidence; on this topic see below.

2. References to spathia together with other jars/containers like the diploun, the dichoron, the keramion, or the knidion (cf. below)

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* All dates are A.D., unless otherwise stated.

[1] See the author's "A note on Syriac *Sabitha* and *Kollathon* in the Papyri," *BASP* 36 (1999) 83-6, esp. 84, repeating views expressed earlier in his paper "Σπάτιον / cπάθιον—A Wineskin," *ZPE* 121 (1998) 226-9 (M. and other authors accentuate proparoxytonon; according to LSJ s.v. cπαθίον, one should accentuate paroxytonon).

[2] This Syriac version was edited by J.E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures—The Syriac Version.* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation 11 (Chicago 1935). For the Greek text, cf. E. Mouslas, Τὸ περὶ μέτρων καὶ cταθμῶν ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμῖνος, Εὐλογία 44 (1973) 157-98. To be sure, there is also an Old-Georgian version of Epiphanius' text, cf. M.-J. van Esbroeck, *Les versions georgiennes d'Epiphane de Chypre: Traité des poids et des mesures* (CSCO 460 [Georgian Text] - 461 [French Translation]; Scriptores Iberici 19 [Louvain 1984]).

[3] Usually the noun cπαθίον is regarded as the diminutive form of the noun cπαθή, cf. G. Wagner in *O.Douch* II 84.1n. and K.A. Worp in *ZPE* 101 (1994) 102, note to l. 6.

within a single context suggest that the manufacturing material for the spathia was not intrinsically different from that of the other containers.

3. M. neglects the evidence provided by the text of *SB* XIV 11552.16-7 (III) in which the sailors of a ship will be provided with, among other things, κ[ρέ]ωϲ [μ]ο̣ϲ̣χεί-|[ου ϲ]π̣αδίων δέκα.[4] It is evident from a comparison of this passage with three entries for "οἴνου ϲπαδίων (l. ϲπαθίων)" in the administrative list found in *SB* XIV 11593.18, 25, 42 (IV) that the spelling ϲπαδίων should be taken as an error for ϲπαθίων[5] and that in *SB* XIV 11552.16-7 we are dealing with "10 spathion-jars of preserved calf meat;" it is out of the question, of course, that one is dealing here with 10 wine skins used for packing preserved meat.[6]

While returning to the traditional interpretation of the spathion as a type of earthenware jar we think that there is good reason to pay some further attention to the term and its use. First we present a listing in chronological order of all attestations of the term in a sense of a jar known to us mostly via the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri (PHI CD-ROM #7); *all* references concern οἴνου ϲπαθία ("spathia of wine") unless indicated otherwise ("-" indicates that the commodity or a precise amount of spathia is not indicated in the text):

P.Lond. III 1266 (p. 38f.) A.7 (II/III): ϲπ. 6	*P.Oxy.* LVI 3860.16 (IV): ϲπ. 8
P.Lond. III 1266 B.5 (II/III): ϲπ. 12	*P.Oxy.* LVI 3874.35 (IV): ϲπ. 2
P.Lond. III 1266 C.5 (II/III): ϲπ. 12	*P.Oxy.* LVI 3875.2,3 (IV): ϲπ. 1
P.Oxy. XLI 2983.14 (II/III): ϲπ. 1	*P.Ross.* Georg. III 6.4 (IV): ϲπ. 1
SB XII 10913.5 (III ?): ϲπ. 10	*P.Ross.* George V 61 Fr. D. 4, 6, 9 (IV): ϲπ. 4
SB XIV 11552.16-7 (III): κρέωϲ [μ]οϲχί[νου ϲ]π. 10	*P.Ryl.* IV 627.67, 98 (IV): ϲπ. 8

[4] On balance one may probably better restore κ[ρέ]ωϲ [μ]ο̣ϲ̣χεί-|[νου ϲ]π̣αδίων.

[5] An indication of this error was not given in the *ed.princ.* of *SB* XIV 11552, hence the editors of the Sammelbuch did not mention the error in a critical apparatus for this text. For evidence on the interchange of aspirated and voiced dentals (ϑ > δ, δ > ϑ), cf. F.Th. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 96-7.

[6] An Askalonion is used as a container for packing calf meat in *SB* XX 14574.2.

P.Laur. I 17.9, 16 (III): cπ. 2, 1	*P.Ryl.* IV 627.76: γάρου{c} cπ -
P.Oslo III 161.5 (III): γάρου{c} cπ. 1	*P.Ryl.* IV 627.79: [ὀ]λοφάκ(ων) cπ. -
P.Oxy. LVI 3854.3, 4, 6 (III): cπ. 10, 12, 12	*P.Ryl.* IV 627.294: γλυκέος cπ. -
P.Fuad. I Univ. 9.5, 7 (III/IV): cπ. [ ]; cπ. 10	*P.Ryl.* IV 629.36, 76, 106 (IV): cπ. 1
P.Oxy. XIV 1771.4, 9 (III/IV): cπ. 12 cπ. 18 + 12, 2	*P.Stras.* VII 637.27 (IV): cπ. 7
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2728.17, 22, 26 (III/IV): cπ. 10	*SB* XIV 11593.18, 25, 42 (IV): cπ. 4, 2
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2728.18: cπ. [17[7]]	*SB* XIV 11983.5,63 (IV): cπ. 1
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2728.19, 20. 23: cπ. 3,20,40	*SB* XIV 11983.85: cπ. 2
P.Oxy. X 1298.14, 18 (IV): cπ. 66	*SB* XIV 12173.14 (IV): γάρου cπ. 1
BGU I 21.ii.18 (IV): cπ. 24	*SB* XIV 12576^r.34, ^{v}.14 (IV): cπ. 1, 1
BGU I 21.iii. 7, 21 : cπ. 2	*SPP* XX 75.17 (IV): cπ. 2
P.Abinn. 4.5, 11 (IV): ἐλαίου cπ. 1, 2	*Anal.Pap.* 10-11 (1998/9) 108 #3.2, 4, 6 (IV): cπ. 136, 144, 144.
P.Abinn. 7.16 (IV): cπ. 4	*ZPE* 134 (2001) 169 #5.6 (IV): cπ. 2
P.Abinn. 8.5 (IV): cπ. -	*P.Oxy.* LVI 3862.23 (IV/V): οἰν. (?) cπ. 2
P.Abinn. 75.10, 15, 16, 18, 23, 29, 32, 47 (IV): cπ. 1	*SB* XX 14956.ii.44 (IV/V): γάρου cπ. 1
P.Abinn. 75.5, 6, 8, 27, 44: cπ. 2	*P.Ant.* III 194.4, 5 (V): cπ. 10
P.Abinn. 72.2, 3, 4, 43: cπ. 4	*P.Oxy.* XVI 2043.7, 9 (V): cπ. 4, 32
P.Abinn. 75.13, 13, 41, 17: cπ. 3, 8, 9, 15	*P.Oxy.* XVI 2048.2 (V ? Cf. XLVIII 3425): οἰν. Ὀαcιτικοῦ cπ. 4
P.Col. VIII 239.5, 6 (IV): cπ. 3, 1	*P.Oxy.* XVI 2048.3: οἰν. ἐντοπίου cπ. 4
P.Hamb. IV 267.4 (IV): cπ. -	*P.Oxy.* LXIII 4387.4, 5 (V): cπ. 30
P.Nag. Hamm. 17.2 (IV): cπ. 3410	*P.Oxy.* I 155.3 (VI): cπ. 20
P.Oxy. X 1297.10 (IV): cπ. 1	*SB* XX 14533.4 (VI): cπ. 1
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2729.30, 35 (IV): cπ. -	*T.Var.* 30.11 (?): cπ. 20
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2729.38: γάρου cπ. 1	*T.Var.* 31.4 (?): cπ. 5 & 1
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3387.3,4 (IV): cπ. 1	
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3425.2 (IV): οἰν. Ὀαcιτικοῦ cπ. 4	

Not listed above are the following doubtful "attestations":

1. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1751v.2 cπαθίων is restored in an entry "ὑπὲρ τιμῆc cπα[-" ; one may well wonder why not another word starting with cπα- is restored here, e.g. ὑπέρ τιμῆc cπα[νελαίου ?

2. *O.Douch* II 84.2-5 and 162.2 (cf. also II 145): the measure read as "(cπαθίον)" or "(cπαθία)" is expressed by a monogrammatic symbol consisting of the letters "Chi"+ "Rho" (for which cf. II 128.3-6n.); it should, however, be noted that no such symbol for cπαθίον is known from anywhere else, while the correct

[7] We think that the numeral to be restored for the cπαθία should be restored as 17. Adding to these 3 cπαθία (cf. ll. 19-20) one arrives at 20 cπαθία (l. 20). And via adding up the 10 cπαθία from l. 17, the 20 cπαθία from l. 20 and the 10 cπαθία from l. 22, one arrives at 40 cπαθία in l. 23.

reading of *O.Douch* II 84.1 (cf. Pl. 5) seems to be Cπάνου or ὑπ' Ἀνου( ) [or -αλίου for -ανου ?]), rather than cπαθία. Therefore, in both of these texts it seems inescapable to prefer the editor's alternative reading, i.e χρ(ητη) (cf. for this measure *O.Douch* II 173.3, 4; III 321.2 ff.; IV 358; 386.4, 5; 390; 448.5).

3. *SB* XVI 12806, republished in *O.Douch* III 327; here, too, the cπαθίον in l. 2 of the *ed.princ.* has been substituted by the χρητη.

4. *P.Ant.* I 46ᵛ.12 [IV], cπαδίον καινόν (ταλ.) 24, where the editor takes cπαδίον as standing for cπαθίον; he interprets this, however—probably in view of the following amount of 24 talents—, as "a new knife" (i.e. really the diminutive of cπάθη), rather than as a type of jar.

5. *SB* XVIII 13613.10-11, where the editorial reading "cφα | τία (l. cπαθία)" has now been corrected into <ἀ>cφάλ | τια, cf. *BL* X 221.

6. *P.Laur.* IV 186 B.2-6, 8-11 (VII), where the abbreviation ψαθ( ) should not be taken as an erroneous spelling of cπαθ(ίον). For the correct interpretation ψαθ(ίον) = ψιάθιον = "small basket" cf. *P.Neph.* 5.11n. Likewise, the reading ψ(αθία) in *P.Laur.* IV 185 A.14, 15 (VII; cf. Plate CXIX) looks exceptional and doubtful to us (we are not even certain of the reading of a letter ψ) and we do not think that this can be taken as an attestation of the jar name abbreviated as cπ(αθίον).

First of all we note that the term spathion is attested from the late II/early III onwards (cf. the 4 toll receipts in *P.Lond.* III 1266 and *SB* XII 10913). The majority of its attestations, however, are found in fourth century papyri; only a few later texts mention it, cf. *P.Ant.* III 194, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2043, 2048, LXIII 4387 (all V), *P.Oxy.* I 155 and *SB* XX 14533 (both VI). The usual spelling is cπαθίον; next to this the spelling variants cπατίον or cπαδίον do occur, but they are not frequent.[8] Furthermore, we note that the term is attested in all more or less important regions of Egypt, hence it appears not to be a "technical" word used only on a limited, regional/local basis.

The largest amount of spathia is found in *P.Nag.Hamm.* 17.2, 3410 cπ.[9] This, however, is the only case of hundreds of cπαθία, much higher than the next highest number of 144 cπαθία men-

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[8] For cπαδίον, cf. above, *SB* XII 11552.17, 11593.18, 25, 42; *P.Ant.*I 46ᵛ.12.

[9] It should be noted that only here the abbreviation c(παθία) is used, whereas elsewhere one finds usually cπ(αθίον) or cπαθ(ίον), only rarely (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3387.4) as "c(πα)θ(ίον)."

tioned in *Anal.Pap.* 10-11 (1998/9) 108 #3.[10] Most amounts are in the range between 1-10 cπαθία. Fractions of cπαθία do not seem to occur, and we also do not find terms like *ἡμιcπαθίον (or, for that matter, *διcπαθίον). This is remarkable in that the occurrences in the papyri of "halves" or "doubles" of a standard jar are numerous (cf. terms like, e.g., ἡμικνίδιον and διλέcβιον, διπλοκέραμον, διπλοῦν, and δίχωρον).

It is easily observed that a spathion is predominantly a container for wine, but other commodities are also packed in spathia, cf. *SB* XIV 11552.16-7 (κρέωc μοcχίνου = "calf meat"), *P.Abinn.* 4.5, 11 (both with ἐλαίου = "oil"), *P.Oslo* III 161.5, *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729.38, *P.Ryl.* IV 627.76, *SB* XIV 12173.14 and XX 14956.ii.44 (all with γάρου = "spicy fish sauce"), *P.Ryl.* IV 627.79 (with [ὀ]λοφάκ(ων) = "unbruised lentils") and *P.Ryl.* IV 627.294 (with γλυκέοc = "sweet must").

There are a few price indications of wine per spathion (cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt.* BASP Suppl. 5 [Atlanta 1985] 66):

ca. 318: The price of 1 spath. = ca. 9.5x that of 1 sext. (cf. *P.Ryl.* IV 629-39).

ca. 337-48: The price of 1 spath. = ca. 4.5-6x that of 1 sext., especially if the knidion is reckoned at 5 sext. (cf. *SPP* XX 75, *BGU* I 21 and *P.Ant.* I 46).

ca. 338-41: The price of 1 spath. = 4-6x that of 1 knidion (cf. *SB* XIV 11593).[11]

ca. 345/46: The price of 1 spath. = ca. 2x that of 1 knidion (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVI 3874.34-5).[12]

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[10] Cf. also the 66 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* X 1298.14, 18, the 40 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2728.23, the 32 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2043.9, the 30 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4387.4, 5, the 20 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* I 155.3 and in XXXIV 2728.20, the 18 + 12 cπ. in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1771, the 15 cπ. in *P.Abinn.* 75.17, and the 12 cπ. in *P.Lond.* III 1266 B.5 and C.5 and in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3854.4,6.

[11] 1 spathion costs 20 tal., 1 knidion costs 3 tal. 2000 dr. - 5 tal. Actually, Bagnall states (*op.cit.*): "3 tal., 2000 dr./sextarius," but this is an oversight for "3 tal., 2000 dr./knidion."

[12] 1 spathion costs 20 tal., a knidion costs 9 tal.

These price indications appear incompatible with the hypothesis considered below that a ("the" ?) standard size of a spathion may have been the equivalent of 12 sext. It is, however, an open question whether the wine mentioned in the various texts (or even within one single text) was always of the same quality, and it is also uncertain whether in all cases one is dealing with knidia of the same size; after all, knidia are known to have contained 3-5 and 8 sext., while one should also reckon with a 6-sext. knidion.[13]

As to the question in what relationship a spathion stood versus containers of other names like διπλᾶ, κεράμια, and/or κνίδια, one finds the following sequences:

P.Ant. III 194.4,5	διπλᾶ 10, cπαθία 10
P.Oxy. XVI 2043.7	διπλᾶ 14, cπαθία 4
SB XIV 12576ʳ.34	κεράμια 9, cπαθία 1
P.Ryl. IV 627.67,98	κνίδια –, cπαθία –
SB SIV 11983.5	κνίδια 9, cπαθίον 1
P.Oxy. I 155.3	κνίδια 20, cπαθία 20
SB XIV 11983.85	κνίδια 33, cπαθία 2
P.Oxy. LVI 3862.23	μεγάλα κνίδια 8̣5̣, cπαθία 2
P.Ross.Georg. V 61,Dᵛ.6	cπαθία 4, διπλᾶ 2
P.Laur. I 17.16	cπαθίον 1, δίχωρον 1
P.Col. VIII 239.6	cπαθίον 1, κεράμια 2
P.Col. VIII 239.5	cπαθία 3, κεράμια 5
P.Abinn. 75.2	cπαθία 4, κεράμια 3
P.Laur. I 17.9	cπαθία 2, κνίδια 2, διπλᾶ 2

This listing shows that one finds spathia **either** preceded **or** followed by various type designations of earthenware jars (dipla, keramia, knidia), in other words, there is *no* fixed sequence of, e.g., the type "διπλᾶ X, cπαθία Y, κεράμια Z" (in that case the logical inference would be that the size of an earthenware spathion fell in between that of other earthenware jars like διπλᾶ and κεράμια).

[13] Cf. N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 96-127, esp. 114-6; *id.*, "Geographical Jar Names," *APF* 46 (2000) 65 ff., s.v. Κνίδιον.

About the size of a diploun, resp. a keramion, it will suffice to say that in Roman Egypt a diploun counted 8 χόες = ± 26.25 l., while in Byzantine Egypt the content of the diploun is attested as ranging between 4.5-8 sextarii. Furthermore, it is known now that in Roman Egypt knidia are attested counting 4 or 12 χόες and that likewise there are κεράμια of 2 and 4 χόες, while in the fourth century the κεράμιον (a "neutral" term par excellence) sometimes appears to contain 3 χόες = 18 sext.[14] It remains, therefore, an open question whether individual scribes preferred to give first the larger jars, then some smaller jar, or vice versa. In this connection it should also be considered that in principle the content of a spathion, too, may have varied, in as far as there may have been cπαθία μεγάλα vs. cπαθία μικρά, like there were, e.g., κνίδια μεγάλα vs. κνίδια μικρά (cf. *BGU* XII 2179.7n.; one might assume that the latter have, e.g., only half the size of the first).

While stressing that spathia should not be considered "wineskins," we make two other observations: (1) on the terminology and use of wineskins in Egypt, and (2) on the size(s) of the spathion:

1. One expects the normal term for "wineskin" to have been in Egypt, as in Classical Greece, ἀcκόc (= "skin, hide," hence "skin made into a bag," cf. *LSJ* s.v.). Indeed, askoi appear in the papyri a number of times between the third century B.C. (in the Zenon papyri, cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 21, General Index XX) and the fifth century A.D. (*SB* XIV 11621).[15] It is, however, striking that one finds this term used in Egypt virtually exclusively to refer to packing oil or water (in *O.Claud.*) rather than wine. Probably it is no coincidence that during the whole of the Ptolemaic and the first part of the Roman period wineskins were apparently never in frequent use in Egypt (otherwise one would probably have found traces of this practice in the papyrus documentation at large). Larger quantities of wine were normally packed always in earthenware jars rather than

[14] *Ibid.* (1999) 118-9 and 126-7, and (2000) 65 ff., s.v. Κνίδιον.

[15] We are not certain that it is inescapable to resolve οἴνου ἀcκ( ) in *P.Naqlun* 9^{r}.9 into οἴνου ἀcκ(ούc), while in l. 8 the same abbreviation ἀcκ( ) is resolved into ἀcκ(αλωνίου). In both lines, and also in 9^{v}.31 (where ἀcκ( ) is left unresolved), we would consider resolving some form of Ἀcκ(αλώνιον), for which see Kruit and Worp, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13, 2000), esp. fn. 84.

in animal skins,[16] simply because animal skins, given their vulnerability, were probably not well suited for packing quantities of wine larger than for immediate personal use.[17] The attestations of the term askos indicate that the contents of such skins were (understandably enough) more susceptible to variation than earthenware vessels; in *SB* XII 10906.2-3 one askos of oil was considered the equivalent of 1 metretes, but in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59012.105 1 askos was the equivalent of 2 metretai while in *P.Wisc.* II 80.88 2 askoi seem to be the equivalent of 1.5 metretai.[18]

2. In all of the attestations of the term spathion there seems to be no direct indication of its size in terms of choes, kotylai or sextarii. One would reckon, however, that at least some people would have wished to indicate (or wanted to know) more or less precisely how much wine would be packed in a spathion. If, e.g., it was stated in a letter (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVI 3854) that 10 and 12 spathia filled with wine were to be transported to Oxyrhynchus for sale on the local market, without some pre-existing idea about the size of an individual spathion it would have been anybody's guess (approximately) how much wine was in fact sent in these vessels. This is not a very attractive idea. In fact, in the work of Bishop Epiphanius already referred to above one finds a term "'espadjhūn" (cf. J.E. Dean, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) § 35, p. 52). This term is rendered by Dean—apparently following K. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum,* (Halle 1928²/ repr. Hildesheim 1961) 35—into Greek as cπονδεῖον, but to us looks

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[16] One may even ask whether ἀcκοί were sometimes made of material other than animal skin; only in *SB* VI 9066.11 are the ἀcκοί specifically stated to be δερμάτινοι ("made of skin").

[17] In order to prevent evaporation and to decrease porosity water skins had to be impregnated with oil. On this subject and on the use of water skins in Mons Claudianus, cf. R.S. Daniel, "Neither Do They Put Old Wine in New Skins," *ZPE* 101 (1994) 61-6. It would be surprising, of course, if only starting with the end of the second century A.D. regular reference would suddenly have been made to such wineskins via the term cπαθίον/cπαθία.

[18] From our discussion of the term ἀcκόc it follows that we do not share some of the views of Mayerson expressed in *ZPE* 127 (1999) 189-92 on this term. For, e.g., the size of the νέβελ =150 or 24 sext., cf. *APF* 45 (1999) 99. If one accepts the equivalence with 150 sext. **and** accepts that 1 νέβελ was equal to 2 ἀcκοί, it follows that on average 1 ἀcκόc should contain 75 sext., i.e., that it was approximately equivalent to 1 metretes of oil.

very much like the transliteration of the Greek term "cπαθίον." And if there is indeed a connection between the two words "'espadjhūn" and "cπαθίον," one automatically gains a fixed capacity for the cπαθίον, because Epiphanius says that the term "'espadjhūn" stands for a type of jar with a content of 12 sext.

By way of conclusion we suppose that beginning with the third century A.D.—perhaps in fact already slightly earlier, i.e. by the end of the second century—people in Egypt started using a specific type of earthenware vessel, imported from Syria and mentioned by name in Epiphanius' *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, i.e. the "shåfithå" = cαβιθά = "sapation" = cάμβαθον (various attestations)/ cάμφατον (only in *PSI* XIV 1423)/ cάμαθον (only in *P.Oxy.* X 1290) with a variable content (depending on local circumstances) of 22, 18 or 14 sext.; cf. J.E. Dean, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2) § 41, p. 55.[19]

Next to this vessel a separate jar form, viz. the cπαθίον (cπατίον / cπαδίον), was developed more or less simultaneously (or even earlier) at some unknown place in the Mediterranean.[20] The Greek name of this type of jar was rendered by the translator of Bishop Epiphanius' Greek text into Syriac as "'espadjhūn"; cf. J.E. Dean, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2) § 35, p. 52. According to the testimony of this ancient author, it contained 12 sext.

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[19] For attestations in the papyri of the cάμβαθον, see our article in *APF* 46 (2000) 127, s.v. Σάμιον; these attestations cover the period III-V.

[20] For further information cf. V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade = Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book #6* (Princeton 1961) pll. 67-8, and *P.Naqlun*, pp. 170-1, type #4.

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In the World of *P.Panop.Beatty*.[1] Ship Repair

In his recent publication of the long-hidden surfaces of *P.Ryl.* I 1 Roger Bagnall reminds us *en passant* of the undeserved underutilization of *P.Panop.Beatty*.[2] Dated in 298 and 300 C.E. respectively, *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 and 2 are the remains of ledgers recording day by day the correspondence from and to the office of the strategos of the Panopolite nome. At some 9,000 and 6,000 words respectively, they are among the most extensive Greek documentary papyri that we have. The voluminous tax rolls from Karanis and Theadelphia (*BGU* IX, *P.Col* II and V, *P.Mich.* IV) are physically longer, but their contents—names and amounts—do not approach the scope or the varied detail of the government reports, orders and instructions of *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 and 2. Happily, the editor, T.C. Skeat, has provided the user of these texts with a consummate edition.

In *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 the first ten columns of the original roll are lost (introd. p. ix). The seven surviving columns comprise 406 long lines of writing in five or six different hands (introd. p. xxii). Lines 1-45, poorly preserved, appear to be—at least in part if not in whole—brief notations about letters received from the procurator of the Lower Thebaid. After that are recorded either *in extenso* or in summary reference more than a hundred letters dispatched from the office of the Panopolite strategos in the course of thirteen days, Thoth 15-27 (September 12-24).

Some of the letters relate to the provision[3] of foodstuffs and river transport for an impending visit by the emperor Diocletian and his retinue. Those relating to river transport are the subject of

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[1] An earlier installment appeared in *BASP* 28 (1991) 163-78.

[2] *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2 (2000) 77-8.

[3] State visits regularly imposed this obligation on the localities visited or passed through: see, e.g., my *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*. Pap.Flor. 11^1 (Florence 1982), 28^2 (Florence 1997) s.v. παρουσία.

the following pages. They will repay our attention with a rich variety of information, as the need for ships reveals the inner working of the provincial government's administrative apparatus.

At the risk of belaboring the obvious, let us recall that the River Nile was Egypt's lifeline, both in the Herodotean sense of supplying the water and fertilizing silt for the land's rich agricultural bounty and in offering a convenient and economical means of transport and travel from one end of the country to the other. Such river traffic would seem to postulate the existence of facilities for ship construction and repair all along the river. But information about such facilities is slight, making that which *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 provides all the more precious. For example, the vessels to be repaired are referred to here (see below) as "the treasury ships collected from the Upper Thebaid," from which it seems fair to deduce that there was no dockyard farther south (ἄνω = upriver) than that at Panopolis, which was located in what was then the Lower Thebaid.

Can we, to begin with, distinguish among the terms used to describe the work being done on the ships, ἐπι–, κατα– and παραςκευάζω (–ευή)? As used in *P.Panop.Beatty* the παρα– compounds clearly have a general sense of getting ready or shipshape, without further specification. The ἐπι– compounds are used consistently to denote repair work, refurbishment, while the κατα– compounds appear to refer to fresh construction undertaken *ab initio*.[4] But at 1.185 τῶν καταςκευαζομ̣[ένων ταμι]ακῶν πλοίων are the same ships previously designated in line 167 as τὰ πλοῖα τὰ ταμιακὰ ... ἐπιςκευαςθῆναι καὶ ἐξαρτιςθῆναι. Obviously, the κατα– compounds could denote shipyard work in general, whether new construction or repair.

I. Organizing the Ship Repairs

Information about the ships to be repaired begins in 1.8-14, the badly fragmented remains of a letter from the strategos informing some local functionaries (their title is lost) that the "procurator of the Lower Thebaid [which included the Panopolite nome] had or-

[4] ἐπι-: 1.41, 49, 167, 173, 181, 242, 335 and 374. κατα-: 2.80, 114, 177-8, 251-3, and 272.

dered that the treasury ships collected from the Upper Thebaid ... obtain the needed fitting-out from treasury funds [for preparing (for the auspiciously impending visit)] of our lord and all-conquering Emperor Diocletian the senior Augustus."[5] The date is lost, but there follow notations regarding other letters received from the same procurator on Thoth 11.

Next, at 1.49-52, is a letter of Thoth 15 or 16 from the strategos to the president (πρόεδρος) of the town council (βουλή) of Panopolis: "For the repair and equipment of the treasury ships in accordance with the orders of Aurelius Isidorus, procurator of the Lower Thebaid, it is necessary to appoint an overseer (ϲυνοψιϲτήϲ) to carry out a bona fide oversight of the ships for the benefit of the most sacred[6] treasury, [the funds to be provided by (*aut sim.*)] the public bank...[7] (The rest is lost.)

We hear nothing more of the matter until Thoth 18, two or three days later, but lines 167-79 bring us a copy of a long letter in which the strategos reports and complains to the procurator in great detail. He writes that pursuant to the procurator's order he had instructed the council president to appoint an overseer of the ship repairs "and also a comptroller (ἐπιμελητήϲ) of the said ships to receive the moneys from the public bank and keep an account of the expenditure incurred."[8] But the council president "had the audacity to reply that the city ought not to be burdened" with these litur-

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[5] ἐπίτρο̣[π]ο̣ϲ τῆϲ κα[τωτέρω Θηβαίδοϲ ...] ἐκέλευϲεν τὰ πλοῖα τὰ [τ]αμιακὰ τῶν λημφθέντων ἐκ τῆϲ ἀνωτέρω Θηβ[αίδοϲ] ... τῆϲ δεού[ϲ]ηϲ παραϲκευῆϲ τυχεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ταμιακῶν χρη[μάτων πρὸϲ ἑτοιμαϲίαν τοῦ δεϲπότο]υ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα νικῶντοϲ αὐτοκράτο[ροϲ Διοκ]λητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεϲβυτέρου Σεβαϲ[τοῦ. The restoration of the long lacuna is assured by several occurrences of the formula.

[6] I.e. imperial.

[7] εἰϲ τὴν τῶν πλοίων τῶν ταμιακῶν ἐπιϲκευὴν καὶ ἐξάρτειαν ἀκολούθ[ωϲ τοῖϲ κελευϲθεῖϲιν ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἰϲιδώρου] ἐπ[ιτρόπο]υ τῆϲ κατωτέρω Θηβαίδοϲ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐϲτιν ϲυνοψιϲτὴν ἑλέϲθαι τῶν με̣[τὰ καλῆϲ πίϲτεωϲ ὑπὲρ λυϲιτελείαϲ τοῦ ἱερω]τ̣[άτ]ου ταμε[ίου τ]ὴν τῶ[ν πλοίων] ϲύνοψιν ποιηϲομ̣[ένων...] δημο[ϲ]ίᾳ̣ τραπέ̣ζ[η̣. Here again the restoration of the long lacuna is assured by later occurrences. In light of the further correspondence, discussed below, the lacuna before δημοϲίᾳ may have contained an order to appoint an ἐπιμελητήϲ; cf. below lines 167-79.

[8] ἀ̣λ̣λ̣ὰ̣ κα̣ὶ̣ ἐ̣π̣ι̣μ̣ε̣λ̣η̣τὴ̣ν̣ [τῶν αὐτῶν] π̣λ̣οίων τὸ̣ν̣ ὑποδεχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆϲ δ̣ημ[οϲ]ίαϲ τραπέζηϲ̣ τ̣ὰ χρήματα καὶ λογογραφοῦντα τὸ γεινόμεν̣ο̣ν̣ [ἀνάλωμα.

gies.[9] The strategos adds that the council president has also disregarded orders to appoint collectors and comptrollers of supplies for the emperor's visit. The strategos ends his letter with an outburst of righteous indignation and foreboding: "Once this man has begun to challenge instructions, others will undertake to do the same, and as a result through his boundless impudence our whole operation system is impaired."[10]

Having vented his indignation in that complaint to his immediate superior, the strategos addresses another letter (lines 180-3) on the same day (Thoth 18) to the cυcτάται, a board whose principal function was to nominate liturgists. The strategos here instructs them "to nominate from among the *pagani* a suitable man—one of much experience and wealth, and skilled in letters[11]—so that the entire accounting may be managed by him and all the orders may be carried out."[12]

Meanwhile, the council president, it appears, had reconsidered his defiance and appointed the overseer for the ship repairs. In the next letter, lines 184-7, dated on the same day (Thoth 18) the strategos writes to that appointee that "the most noble council, acting through its current president ... has informed me that it has appointed you overseer of the treasury ships being repaired in accordance with the order of Aurelius Isidorus, procurator of the Lower Thebaid. I notify you so that you may know and may now in good faith undertake the duties entrusted to you."[13]

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9 ἐτόλμηcεν ἀ]ν̣τεπιcτεῖλαι μὴ ὀφείλειν τὴν πόλιν ἐνοχληθῆναι.

10 τούτου γὰρ ἀρξαμένου ἀν̣[τ]ιλ[έγειν τοῖc πρ]οcταττομένοιc ἕτεροι ἐπιχειροῦcιν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εἰc ὑπερβολὴν καταφρόνηcιν τὰ πάντα ἐνεδρεύε[τα]ι. In the vocabulary of this strategos ἐνεδρεύω is a favorite doomsday word. He uses it eight times in letters dispatched in the course of nine days.

11 I.e. literate.

12 ὅπω̣c̣ ἄνδρα ἐπιτήδιον καὶ ἐντὸc πολλῆc ἐπ̣ι̣[cτήμηc κα]ὶ περιουcίαc καὶ γραμμάτων ἔμποραν (l. ἔμπειρον) ἀ̣πὸ παγανῶν ὀνομάcηται (l. -τε) ὑπὲρ̣ τοῦ τὴν πᾶcαν λογογραφείαν δι' αὐτοῦ γενέcθαι. The meaning of παγανῶν is discussed below.

13 ἡ κ̣ρ̣[ατίcτη βουλὴ] διὰ ... ἐνάρχου προέδρου ... ἐδήλωcεν ἡ̣ρῆcθαί cε cυνοψιcθὴ<ν> (*sic*) τῶν καταcκευαζομ̣[ένων ταμι]ακῶν πλοίων κατὰ κέλευcιν

A comptroller was also appointed, as we learn from 1.241-3, a letter dated two days later (Thoth 20) in which the strategos informs the addressee that the council president "has appointed you comptroller on the treasury ships being repaired here in accordance with the order of Aurelius Isidorus, procurator of the Lower Thebaid. You are (hereby) notified, so that you may undertake the service entrusted to you."[14]

II. The Liturgies

The men appointed to the several supervisory services related to the ship repairs were all liturgists, i.e. they served under compulsion. This is apparent both from the context and, more particularly, from the terminology of their nomination and designation. One office is that of ϲυνοψιϲτήϲ. Functionaries bearing that title are attested only in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1-2 and one other document, *P.Wisc.* I 15, also dating from the early Dominate. It seems clear from the passages quoted above that a ϲυνοψιϲτήϲ had, as the title itself suggests, a general administrative oversight of the repair project.

The second liturgist mentioned was an ἐπιμελητήϲ, a title and function in evidence continuously from the Ptolemaic period on. This ἐπιμελητήϲ, it is clearly stated, was to have charge of the financial transactions involved.

There is also mention of an ἐπείκτηϲ πλοίων or πλοιοποιίαϲ. Ἐπεῖκται have appeared in documents dating from the mid-third to the mid-fourth century. The ἐπείκτηϲ here was responsible for seeing to it that the materials needed for the repairs were on hand when needed.

In addition to those three previously-encountered liturgies we have a new one, at 1.180-3, one referred to not by title but by a description of the duties to be performed and the qualifications required of the appointee. I have been calling such services

Αὐρηλίου Ἰϲιδώρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆϲ κατωτέρω Θηβαίδοϲ. ἵν' οὖν εἰδῆϲ καὶ ἤδη μετὰ πίϲτεωϲ ἔ[χῃ τῶν ἐγχ]ειριϲθέντων ϲοι ἐπέϲτειλά ϲοι.

14 εἵλετό ϲε ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν αὐτόθι ἐπιϲκευαζομένων πλοίων ταμιακῶν κατὰ κέλευϲιν Αὐρηλίου Ἰϲιδώρου ἐπιτρόπου τῆϲ κατωτέρω Θηβαί[δοϲ. ὅπωϲ] οὖν τοῦ ἐγκεχειριϲμένου ϲοι φρ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣ίϲ̣ματοϲ ἀντιλάβῃ ἐπιϲτέλλεται.

"untitled liturgies,"[15] i.e. not regular elements of the liturgic system but ad hoc appointments made to deal with special situations. Repairing and outfitting these ships was obviously such a situation, calling for such personnel in addition to a synopsistes and an epimeletes.

The duties of this untitled liturgy and the qualifications required of its incumbent are stated thus: ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὖν μετὰ καλῆc πίcτεωc ταῦτα γενέcθαι ἐπιcτέλλω <ὑμ>ῖν ὅπωc̣ ἄνδρα ἐπιτήδιον καὶ ἐντὸc πολλῆc ἐπ̣ι̣[cτήμηc κα]ὶ περιουcίαc καὶ γραμμάτων ἔμποραν ἀ̣πὸ παγανῶν ὀνομάcηται (l. -τε) ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πᾶcαν λογογραφείαν δι' αὐτοῦ γενέcθαι. On the same day, as we have already noted, the strategos sent off to the procurator a long letter complaining of the council president's recalcitrance in the appointment of an ἐπιμελητὴc ... τὸν ὑποδεχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆc δ̣ημ[οc]ίαc τραπέζηc̣ τὰ χρήματα καὶ λογογραφοῦντα τὸ γεινόμεν̣ο̣ν̣ [ἀνάλωμα. It is clear, then, that this epimeletes and the untitled liturgist had in common a concern with the accounts of the ship repairs, but their functions were not identical. In addition to keeping the accounts of expenditures, the epimeletes had also to draw the needed moneys from the public bank. In the case of the untitled liturgy the only stated function relates to the bookkeeping, but that liturgist is responsible for τὴν πᾶcαν λογογραφείαν. It may be, then, that the epimeletes saw to and accounted for the moneys for the day-to-day operations, while the untitled liturgist had the ultimate, or overall, responsibility (as auditor?) for the accuracy of the records.

Also pointing to some such conclusion are the qualifications required of the untitled liturgist: ἄνδρα ἐπιτήδιον καὶ ἐντὸc πολλῆc ἐπιcτήμηc καὶ περιουcίαc καὶ γραμμάτων ἔμποραν (l. ἔμπειρον). Of these, ἐπιτήδειοc is a part of the standard formula, and περιουcία is merely an elegant variant for the usual εὔποροc, certifying that the nominee meets the minimum property requirement. But this is, as far as I know, the first instance of the insistence that the nominee be possessed of ἐπιcτήμη, and the insistence that he be literate has occurred very rarely. In *P.Amh.* II 82, a document contemporary with *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, literacy is required of a λογογράφοc, i.e. for

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[15] Cf. my *Compulsory Public Services* (above, n. 3), Pap.Flor. 11^{1}, 54, Pap.Flor. 28^{2}, 52-3. So also, most recently, *Cd'É* 75 (2000) 126-7.

duties comparable to those involved here. Ca. 90 C.E,, as we learn from *SB* VI 9050 v-vi, the prefect M. Mettius Rufus ordered that in nominating replacements for ἀνάξιοι the komogrammateus should state their πόρον καὶ ἔτη καὶ εἰ γράμματα ἴcαcιν καὶ τί [ἐπρα]γματεύcαντο. Thereafter we do not encounter a specification of literacy until the early Dominate, as noted just above; and there is no mention of literacy in the nearly 100 extant nominations to liturgy. The contrary, i.e. no mention of literacy for services where we might expect that the duties required it, is frequent, as for example in the case of a komogrammateus who could barely indite his name in crude, ham-fisted uncials.[16] The office of epimeletes, too, did not require literacy in its nominees.[17] So here again the untitled liturgy, with its more demanding qualifications, appears to be more important than the service of the ἐπιμελητὴc πλοίων.

A final qualification is that this liturgist is to be selected ἀπὸ παγανῶν. This brief phrase, unprecedented in the context of liturgic nominations, refers, if I am not mistaken, to a basic principle of the liturgic system, namely that persons were liable for liturgic service only in the localities where they lived or owned property.

The Greek transliteration of the Latin *paganus* has occurred but rarely in papyri and ostraca. In O.Claud. inv. 1538[18] (Trajan) and *BGU* IV 1043 (assigned paleographically to the third century) it denotes "civilian," a secondary meaning of *paganus*, in contradistinction to "military." In the case of *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, which dates from 298, the thought arises that the term may be related to the *pagi* into which the nomes of Egypt are known to have been divided in or about 307/8. But even if the *pagi* were in existence as early as 298, they are not required for the understanding of our text; the basic sense of the word is sufficient.[19] *Paganus* in its primary sense of relating to a country district is found as early as

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16 See H.C. Youtie, "Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire," *Cd'É* 41 (1966) 127-43 = *Scriptiunculae* II, 677-95.

17 Cf. my *Compulsory Public Services* (above, n. 3) s.v.

18 *O.Claud.* pp. 11-2, information kindly sent to me by Jean Bingen.

19 T.C. Skeat's note *ad loc.* also points in this direction. But I doubt that, as he suggests *ad* 372, this service was a ταμιακὴ φροντίc (to which, by order of the governor of the Thebaid, men βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματοc were not to be appointed).

Plautus, and its use as a noun to denote a dweller in the countryside is found as early as Cicero (cf. *OLD*).

This specification in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 that a liturgic nominee is to be chosen from among the country dwellers evokes the recollection of a major dispute in the history of liturgy in Roman Egypt. *SB* V 7696 is the *procès-verbal* of a hearing presided over by the prefect of Egypt in 250. The boule of Arsinoe had appointed country dwellers to liturgies theretofore discharged by residents of the nome metropolis. In their complaint the villagers submit that a constitution of Septimius Severus ordered μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμητ[ῶν εἰϲ τὰ]ϲ μητροπολειτικὰϲ ἄγεϲθαι λειτουρ[γ]είαϲ. The boule counters that the towns, now beset by financial straits, should no longer be bound by that restriction, which was promulgated in a time of prosperity. Surely that was a counsel of despair, asking the prefect to suspend the operation of imperial legislation. Unprepared (or unempowered?) to go so far even if he happened to sympathize with their plight, the prefect rejected the boule's plea and reaffirmed the applicability of the imperial constitution.

If the liturgist of 1.180-3 was in fact to be chosen from the dwellers in the countryside, that explains—or helps to explain—why the strategos included the specification of literacy. The other two liturgists appointed here, the epimeletes and the synopsistes, were townspeople, and also—the first surely, the second presumably—members of the bouleutic class,[20] among whom literacy, while perhaps not necessarily universal, was certainly widespread. That would presumably be true in all the nome capitals and the more so in Panopolis, a noted cultural center.[21] But when it came to appointing a villager, literacy could hardly be taken for granted and had better be specified if required.

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[20] Cf. my *Compulsory Public Services* (above, n. 3) s.v.

[21] As Peter Brown reminds us, succinctly, Panopolis by the middle of the fourth century "boasted [a long line of] possessors of an austere and ancient wisdom," most notably in philosophy (*CAH*^{2} XIII, p. 601, cf. 602).

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Cηκώματα: Measures of Wine, Not Jars

In my article on cηκώματα (*BASP* 35 [1998] 153-8) I attempted to demonstrate that the term in Egyptian wine industry denoted "standard" measures of wine expressed in *xestai/sextarii*. The cήκωμα in physical terms was a measuring jar of some kind that was used to decant measures of wine from storage jars or wine presses into other containers. As a measure, *qua* measure, of a specific number of sextarii, cηκώματα are not to be equated with jars (e.g., knidia) that served as containers for wine or of other substances.

I note that in a recent article by N. Kruit and K.A. Worp in *APF* 45.1 (1999) 116, with part of the same information repeated in 46.1 (2000) 106, the list of "various jars with their capacities of sext." such as ἀγγεῖον and κνίδον, includes cήκωμα as a jar with a capacity of 4 to 8 sext. Also included as a jar is the term μέτρον. Viewing cήκωμα as a jar raises the question of the distinction between an amount placed in a container and the capacity of the container. The two can be the same provided that we know the capacity of the container, and that is rare, very rare.[1]

In light of Kruit and Worp's article I would like to restate my opinion and to put added emphasis on the use of the term cήκωμα in the late Roman documents as an aggregate measure of wine, much as we often use the word "gallons" without reference to any specific container. We can observe this in P.Mich. inv. no. 4291 (*ZPE* 100 [1994] 272), a contract in which a vintner states that for 246 sekomata he has received in full (l. 5) "τιμὴν ... οἴνου πενταξεcτιαίων. The price in this instance is in terms of 5-sextarii meas-

[1] That rare case would be the tetrachoa in P.Oxy. L. 3595. See my article "The Value of the Maximian Kotyla in *P.Oxy.* L 3595 and *PSI* XII 1252," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 167-9.

ures for a total of 246 of those measures, which would amount to 1,230 sextarii of wine. The buyer, a wine-merchant, was to provide the empty jars which could be of varying capacities.

I still maintain that the term cήκωμα associated with a number of xestai—usually 5, 6, or 8—is a measure of a stated amount of wine, not the maximum amount that a container can accommodate. In effect the term cήκωμα in the late documents is the equivalent of μέτρον with an added nuance that it is a set of "standard" measure of xestai. The phrases γεουχικά cηκώματα in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896.19, 20, 28, and τῷ γεουχικῷ cηκώ[ματ]ι in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512.12 emphasize that the landowners' standard xestai-measure was to be used. In the latter document, the number of xestai in that measure was not spelled out, indicating that the purchaser of 63 xestai of wine knew the number in the landowner's measure.

In certain instances the number of xestai per cήκωμα is not stated. This would be the case when payments were made to individuals for services rendered. It is likely that a decanting measure in the form of a jar was used to measure out a small number of xestai of wine from a storage jar (πίθοc) or from the catch-basin (ὑπολήνιον) of a treading floor (ληνόc) and poured into a jar which the individual brought, as can be observed in *P.Laur.* IV 185, an account that lists eighteen such distributions in terms of 1 to 35 cηκώματα, and in *P.Harr.* I 100 where out of twelve ἀναλώματα, two or three cηκώματα are distributed to individuals.

When we come to formal contracts, in which wine was being purchased in large amounts, the situation changes. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896 is an agreement by eight men on the Apion estate to supply 3,000 8-sextarii estate-measures of wine (l. 19, οἴνου γεουχικὰ cηκώματα ὀκτάξεcτα τριcχίλια) plus arrears and to deliver them to Apion's cellar. The editor translates this as "three thousand jars of wine of the estate, each containing eight *sextarii* ..." Are we to conceive of 3,000 jars lined up, each to receive 8-sextarii of wine ca. 4.4 liters which would then be conveyed to Apion's cellar? What these eight men agreed to supply was an aggregate number of measures,

namely 3,000 8-sextarii estate-measures or a total of 24,000 sextarii (ca. 13,200 liters).

That in cηκώματα we are dealing with aggregate measures of wine, and not jars, is made very clear in another Oxyrhynchus contract, *P.Col.* VIII 245, a loan of money to be repaid in wine. A vintner acknowledges the receipt of 10 1/3 solidi of which he will repay 7 solidi before the vintage (ll. 9-10) "at the rate of 100 5-sextarii sekomata per one solidus," κατὰ ἑκατὸν cηκώμ(ατα) πεντ̣αξ(εcτιαῖα) τοῦ ἑνὸc νομιcμ(ατίου). The amount of wine covering the balance of 3 1/3 solidi would be determined "at the then known price at the vintage of Mesore of the present ninth indiction, from wine of the pressing of the tenth indiction...." The lender was obligated to furnish the empty jars (κοῦφα) in which the wine would be "bottled."

It should be noted that, with few exceptions such as those noted above (*P.Laur.* IV 84 and *P.Harr.* I 100), almost all the documents dealing with cηκώματα of wine are for large amounts, ranging from 100 to 3,000, and when multiplied by 8-, 6- or 5-sextarii represent a considerable amount of wine, between ca. 13,200 and 450 liters. I list these below in order of number of cηκώματα per 8-, 6- or 5-sext.

P.Oxy. XVI 1896.19, 20, 28	3,000	8-sext.
P.Mich. XV 734.7	107	8-sext.
SB V 8264.12	500	[6-sext.]
P.Flor. I 65.6	360	6-sext.
P.Oxy. LXI 4132.20	800	5-sext.
P.Mich. XV 743.14	515	5-sext.
P.Mich. inv. 4291.6 (= *ZPE* 100 (1994) 272)	246	5-sext.
P.Rein. II 102.3	230	5-sext.
P.Mich. XI 608.2	200	5-sext.
PSI X 1122.12	200	5-sext.
P.Heid. V 358.6	200	5-sext.
PSI VIII 881.5	160	5-sext.

In an occasional contract, the measure is not spelled out when the cήκωμα is well-known to the buyer and seller of wine. That is the case in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3512, which involves the sale of "63 sekomata of wine measured by the estate-sekoma" (ll. 9-13, cηκωμάτων τῷ γεουχικῷ ἑξήκοντα τρία). The buyer contracts to provide the empty jars (l. 14, coῦ παρέχοντοc τὰ κοῦφα). *P.Oxy.* XVI 2058, a repayment for damages, calls for simply 600 sekomata of wine for 18 solidi (l. 6 [οἴνου] cηκώματα X εἰc νομ. ιη).[2]

How large these numbers of measures of wine were decanted into jars is not stated, but almost certainly not 8, 6, or 5 sextarii at a time. For a likely solution we turn to nearby Palestine and Epiphanius' treatise on weights and measures. In the Syriac version,[3] Epiphanius describes a measuring vessel, termed "the drawing vessel of the wine press," that was used to decant wine. At Ascalon it consisted of 22 sextarii; at Azotus 18 sextarii; at Gaza 14 sextarii.[4] If the Palestinian measuring vessel called the Sabitha offers a suitable analogue for Egypt, we can conceive of similar measuring vessels—dipping jars or wine skins—holding several times the enumerated cηκώματα which would decant wine from catch-basins (ὑπολήνια) into wine jars of varying capacities. This method would provide the means for calculating and keeping records of large quantities of wine.

To sum up, I believe that a case has been made to view the appearance of cηκώματα of wine in the late documents as wine meas-

[2] *P.Oxy.* XIV 1720 (IV?) is a receipt for 110 sekomata of wine. The text reads οἴνου cυκώματα (sic) ἑκατὸν δέκα δι(πλῶν) ρι. The δι( ) is puzzling since it is not likely that double jars were used for each sekoma. I suggest that the writer possibly wrote δι when he meant ρι and then repeated the correct amount ρι.

[3] The standard Syriac edition is by J.E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version.* SAOC 11 (Chicago 1935).

[4] See my article, "Another Unreported Ascalonian Jar: The *Sabitha / Sapation*," *Israel Exploration Journal* 46 (1996) 258-61. The shorter Greek version reads: Σαβιθά: Τοῦτο Cυριατικόν ἐcτι τὸ ὄνομα, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ληνιαῖον ἄντλημα, παρὰ 'Αcκαλωνίταιc ξεcτῶν κβ'.

ures in terms of a known or presumed number of xestai. Producers and buyers of wine in large quantities may calculate the amounts in terms of 5-, 6- or 8- xestai measures, but not as jars containing 5,6, or 8 sextarii (2.7, 3.3, 4.4 liters). Small amounts, it is true, may be dispensed in these numbers from measuring jars, but measuring jars generally hold capacities greater than the amount dispensed.

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A Clarification of φοῖνιξ μονόξυλος and φοῖνιξ καθαρός/ῥυπαρός

In their application to the fruit of the date-palm, the terms μονόξυλος in the Egyptian documents and καθαρός/ῥυπαρός in *P.Ness.* III 90-1 have been interpreted so variously that we have no clear understanding of their meaning in the contexts in which they appear. The stumbling block in interpreting μονόξυλος has been the literal meaning of the word, "a single piece or block of wood." *LSJ* does not offer a citation for the word as it relates to dates or the date-palm. As for καθαρός/ῥυπαρός, *LSJ* is helpful, but the editor of *P.Ness.* 90-1 opts to explain the words as trade terms for dates that are currently sold as "pitted" (καθαρός) and "unpitted" (ῥυπαρός).

Returning to μονόξυλος, Schnebel's definition of the term is simple and direct: "es darf nicht mehr als eine Dattel an einem Stiel;" see *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich 1925) 298. This definition is then picked up in the *WB* as "Einstielig, einen Stiel habend (von Früchten)." H. Hohlwein (*Ét.Pap.*5 [1939] 9-11) undertakes a more exhaustive treatment of the term. Finding Schnebel's view unsatisfactory, and somewhat unsure of his own, ("On pourrait comprendre que les fruits doivent être cueillis sur un seul tronc, à un seul arbre, à une même arbre"), he goes on to state:

> J'avoue ne pas très bien comprendre ce sens donné à μονόξυλος et puisqu' aussi bien nous sommes loin du sens premier de ξύλον, abandonnant toute raison et toute base philologique, mais revenant à une interprétation plus conforme à l'esprit de la langue grecque, je pense que μονόξυλος dans semblables contextes pourrait peut-être signifier en *seuls* régimes, par régimes *seulement*, et non libres et détachées des grappes.

I believe that Hohlwein might have been more convinced of his interpretation had he examined the various stages in the growth of a ripe date. At its inception, a number of woody spathes develop from the crown of the female date-palm enclosing multiple flower-bearing strands. (The spathes of the male date-palm also contain

tightly bunched strands, but with pollen-bearing flowers.) At this stage, each spathe undoubtedly appears as a single piece of wood (μονόξυλον). As the spathes that sheathe both male and female flowers develop, they open and release long fibrous strands carrying large numbers of blossoms, the base of the open spathe serving to keep the long strands bunched together in a single cluster. Following pollination, the female flowers on their strands mature as dates, the entire process taking about six months.[1] Harvesting the date crop entails cutting each cluster at the base of the spathe so that they keep the strands bearing the matured dates bunches together.

Turning to the documents, a search of the DDBDP (PHI #7) produced seven documents, all of which are leases of II/III A.D., not necessarily of date groves, in which the lessee states that, in addition to the contracted sum of money for rent, he will give a small number of artabas of φοῖνιξ μονόξυλοc as a special consideration. All these taken literally, consisted of dates still on their strands (i.e., in bunches or clusters without the dates having been stripped off their strands). Four of the quantities were to be given dried; one is of a special kind of the date that Pliny, *N.H.* XIII.9.45 calls *patetae*.[2]

BGU II 603.19-20: φοίνικοc | μονοξύλου ἀρτ[άβ]ην μίαν (r. ἀρτάβηc μίαc)
BGU II 604.15: [φοίνικοc] ξηροῦ μονοξύλου ἀρτάβην [μίαν ?]
P.Phil. 12.13-4: φ[οίν]ικ[οc] ξ[ηρ]ο̣ῦ̣ πατητοῦ | μ̣ονοξύλου ἀρτάβην μ[ία]ν[3]

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[1] A picture, according to the time-worn adage, is worth a thousand words. Recommended is H. Simon, *The Date Palm: Bread of the Desert* (New York 1978) 61-3 describing and illustrating the initial stages of growth; the frontispiece showing a palm bearing seven μονόξυλα heavy with ripe dates. I have purposely used the word "strand" instead of "stem" in order to distinguish it from such fruits as pears and apples that are taken off the tree one at a time and are left with their stems intact. As for dates, there may be a dozen or more attached to a single strand by tenuous stems, which, more often than not, are left on the strand when the dates are removed.

[2] See my article, "Pliny's *pateta* (φοῖνιξ πατητόc) in Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 225-8. All of the evidence discussed there falls within the same span of time, i.e. II/III A.D., as the references to φοίνικοc πατητοῦ in this article.

[3] = *PSI* I 33.

P.Phil. 13.12-3: φοίνικ[οc] ξηροῦ μονο|ξύλου ἀρτάβην μ[ί]α[ν]
P.Ryl. II 172.12-3: φοίνικοc μονοξύλου | ἀρταβῶν (r. ἀρτάβαc) δύο
SB IV 7441.7-8: φοίνικοc | μονοξύλου ἀρτάβην μίαν ἥμυcου (r. ἥμιcυ)
Stud.Pal. XX 21.14-5: φοίνικοc ξη|ροῦ μονοξύλου ἀρταβῶν τριῶν[4]

There is a multitude of additional documents dealing with dates in which they are cited simply as φοῖνιξ. We have only a handful of references that represent specific species of date-palms—eighteen occurrences of φοῖνιξ πατητόc (cf. n. 2) and another eight of a date known as the caryota (καρυωτόc). The above seven instances of φοῖνιξ μονόξυλοc and the dates designated καθαρόc and ῥυπαρόc in *P.Ness.* III 90-1 have in common the fact that their designations refer to their condition after having been harvested.

P.Ness 90-1 (VI-VII A.D.) are two accounts that record the daily sales of dates (λόγοc πράcεωc φοινικίων) to individuals and institutions, presumably in the region surrounding the town of Nessana. The editor has treated the commercial aspects of these complex documents in great detail. With respect to the two terms καθαρόc and ῥυπαρόc that were applied to each sale, he makes the following statement (p. 263):

> With each transaction is carefully noted the fact that the dates were either clean (καθαροί) or dirty (ῥυπαροί), a distinction which can refer either to the fact that some of the dates had been picked from the stems of the large bunches in which they had grown or that they were pitted. The latter seems to be a more likely trade term and I take it that καθαρόc means "pitted," ῥυπαρόc means "with the stones still in."

"Pitted" versus "unpitted" as a trade term appears to this writer to be more a modern distinction than one of antiquity. At least we have no evidence that such a distinction existed in the ancient world. However, the words καθαρόc ("clean") and ῥυπαρόc ("dirty"), like certain expressions in English and other languages, have a wide range of associated meanings.[5] In an agricultural setting, the two terms have been applied to harvested crops, such as grains, that require an additional operation to remove undesirable or waste

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[4] A revision of *CPR* I 45.

[5] E.g., "clean-shaven" means having the beard and mustache (at the time considered potentially undesirable) shaved off.

material. Threshing and winnowing remove the chaff and other debris (described by the term ῥυπαρός) so as to recover the seed without its covering (making it καθαρός).

The use of these two terms in the production of wheat and barley is supported in the documents.[6] I believe that their use in *P.Ness.* 90 and 91 has a similar application. The quality of ῥυπαρός that is being removed as undesirable is the long fibrous strand to which a number of dates are attached, and when it is removed the fruit is considered καθαρός. There is a small charge for this "winnowing" operation. The two accounts summarize their receipts more or less on a monthly basis, stating the number of baskets of dates sold and the total amount of solidi received. From this gross amount, a charge for "winnowing"—expressed as ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ καθ(άρσεως) (κεράτια) X—is deducted to arrive at a net figure.[7] Whether this figure in carats is based on a per-basket rate or is for day-to-day work stripping dates off their strands, cannot be determined. What can be observed, however, is that baskets can hold far more dates when stripped off their strands than those holding dates on strands. Consequently, those baskets command a higher price.

To sum up, φοῖνιξ μονόξυλος and φοῖνιξ καθαρός/ῥυπαρός reflect the perspectives of the grower and the purveyor/purchaser, respectively. In the seven leases cited earlier, the special consideration (gift?) granted to each of the lessors was in the form of the clusters of dates of the current crop, most likely recently lopped off and packed, strands and all, fresh or dry, into a basket or sack to be delivered to the lessor. These involve small numbers of date clusters. In *P.Ness.* 90 and 91, we can observe the other end of the commercial process, in which a grower sells part or all of his date crop to a retailer, or takes it upon himself to act as one. In this instance, the

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[6] Under καθαρός, *LSJ* offers "freq. of grain, *winnowed*, πυρὸς κ. ἄδολος P.Oxy. 1124.11 (i A.D.);" under ρυπαρός, "σῖτος ῥ. *unwinnowed*, P.Fay. 16.10 (i B.C.), κριθὴ ῥ. P.Oxy. 1542.7 (IV A.D.)." Editors by and large translate these two terms literally as "cleansed," "clean," "pure" (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1887.9; XLVII 1887.10; XLIX 3481.8) or "uncleansed" (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1906.15). The editors of *P.Fay.* 16, on the other hand, refer in their note to line 10: "'dirty corn' i.e., corn that has not been winnowed." Note also that under κάθαρσις, *LSJ* has "winnowing of grain."

[7] For *P.Ness.* 90 see lines 37, 74, 107, 138, 176; for *P.Ness.* 91, lines 20, 30.

retailer has to satisfy the preference of the purchaser. Some purchasers, for the sake of a lower price, would accept the dates on their strands; others would like them "cleaned off" the strands as is evident in 90 and 91. That being the case, the retailer might employ someone to do the cleaning (ὑπὲρ καθάρϲεωϲ). One final observation concerning 90 and 91: there is no indication that any of the dates were sold dry (ξηρόϲ), giving some support to the view expressed by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* II.6.8 that "the only dates that will keep, they say, are those which grow in the Valley of Syria, while that that grow in Egypt, Cyprus and elsewhere are used when fresh (χλωρούϲ)" [Transl. A. Hort, Loeb Classical Library].

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Radish Oil: A Phenomenon in Roman Egypt

Radish oil (ῥαφανέλαιον/ἔλαιον ῥαφάνινον) makes an unusual appearance in the Egyptian papyri at the time of Roman occupation of Egypt and is cited in some 50 documents from the first to the eight century. By way of contrast, the documents of the Ptolemaic period, particularly those of the third century, make mention of a variety of common vegetable oils (castor, sesame, olive, safflower) but not a single mention of radish oil.[1] The radish is a common vegetable but radish oil is, to say the least, uncommon in antiquity as it is in modernity.

What perhaps is even more extraordinary is the fact that radish oil does not appear in the literary sources with the exception of some medical writers. A check of the TLG (CD #E) for ραφανελαι– produced no citations, while ελαι– ραφαν– and ραφαν– ελαι– only produced citations from several medical writers. The *LSJ* lists one literary reference for ῥαφανέλαιον, citing Dioscorides 1.37 "in lemmate." A more definitive citation in literature—and coming from Egypt—is found in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* taken from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (see below).

As to references to radish oil in Latin sources, there are none save two notes in Pliny's *N.H.* and a brief citation for the price of radish oil in Diocletian's edict of Prices. In discussing oils derived

[1] For the Ptolemaic period, see the monograph of D. Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*. BASP Suppl. 6 (Atlanta 1989). On p. 6, n. 24, Sandy states that one possible reference to radish exists in *PSI* V 537.15 as ῥαφανε[λαίου?]. This restoration is very doubtful since the line reads ῥαφάνọυ̣[ϲ x γ]ọγγυλίδαϲ (see *BL* I, 401) and more likely refers to "radishes and turnips."

In a recent article, Roger S. Bagnall has shown that vegetable seed oil (λαχανόϲπερμον) is sesame oil (ϲήϲαμον) and that the former replaced the latter exactly when the Roman administration replaced the Ptolemaic; see *Cd'É* 75 (2000) 133-5.

from a variety of plants and trees in Book 15.7.30, Pliny mentions that a very large amount of oil is obtained in Egypt from radish seed. In Book 19.26.79, he is more expansive, stating:

> In Egypt the radish is held in remarkable esteem because it produces oil, which they make from its seed. The people are fond of sowing radish seed if opportunity offers, because they make more profit from it than from corn and have a smaller duty to pay on it, and because no plant yields a larger supply of oil (Transl. H.H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library).[2]

In Diocletian's Edict of Prices, the price of radish oil (*olei raphanini*/ ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου) is given as 8 denarii per Italic sextarius and is listed among items of food such as vinegar, fish sauce, salt, and honey.[3]

A glance at Sandy's quantitative analysis of the use of castor oil (κίκκι, κροτών) and sesame oil (σήσαμον) during the Ptolemaic period (Appendices D+E, pp. 101-12) shows a dramatic decline in their appearance during the Roman era: 9 papyri and 7 ostraca for castor oil; 4 papyri and 5 ostraca for sesame. This statistic is even more remarkable in view of the fact that the number of Roman documents far exceeds those of the Ptolemaic period, leading one to ex-

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[2] Strabo *Geogr.* 17.35 makes no mention of radish seed or radish oil, but on olives and olive oil he makes this observation on his visit to the Arsinoite nome: "This nome is the most noteworthy of all in respect to its appearance, its fertility, and its material development, for it alone is planted with olive trees that are large and fully grown and bear fine fruit, and it also produces good olive oil if the olives are carefully gathered. But since they neglect this matter, although they make much oil, it has a bad smell (the rest of Egypt has no olive trees, except the gardens near Alexandria, which are sufficient for supplying olives, but furnish no oil) [trans. H.L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 1932].

[3] S. Lauffer (ed.), *Diokletians Preisedikt* III.4 (Berlin 1971) 102-3. It should also be noted that the edict lists only two kinds of oil, olive and radish. There are three grades of olive oil (the best made from unripe olives, second quality, and ordinary) and only one of radish oil. In terms of comparative prices, the three grades of olive oil range per sextarius from 40, 24, and 12 denarii down to 8 denarii for radish oil. For contrasting prices in a papyrus document of radish oil (2 drachmas per κοτύλη) and ἔλαιον χρηστόν, "good olive oil" (4 drachmas per κοτύλη), see *BGU* I 14.4.20-1 (250 A.D.); cf. *P.Princ.* III 147, p. 63 (see below, note 8). Worthy of note also is the absence in the Edict of the popular oils of the Ptolemaic period, castor of sesame (but cf. Bagnall's article for sesame, above, n. 1).

pect that if castor and sesame oils continued to be used in any quantity, this fact would be reflected in the documentation of the Roman period.

How to account for this historical transformation from the use of castor and sesame oils to radish oil? I can offer no explanation other than taste and price. In terms of usage, radish oil, like that of the olive, could be used both for illumination and as food, whereas castor oil, for obvious reasons, was not suitable as a food and was primarily used for illumination. Sesame oil on the other hand could be used for both purposes, but apparently was not popular during Roman times. However, just as sesame oil seems to have been introduced as an alternative to olive oil in the Ptolemaic period, radish oil may have performed the same function during the Roman era.[4]

Evidence, other than the papyri, for the use of radish oil for illumination and as food is slim but convincing. In the tractate *Shabbath* (26a) of the *Talmud*, the rabbinical authorities' debate focused on which oils could be used for lighting the Sabbath lamp. When R. Tarfon said that the Sabbath lamp may be lighted with nothing but olive, R. Johanan b. Nuri (I-II A.D.) countered by saying (in the Soncino translation, p. 113),

> What shall the Babylonians do, who have only sesame oil? And what shall the Medeans do, who have only nut oil? *And what shall the Alexandrians do, who have only radish oil?* And what shall the people of Cappadocia do, who have neither the one nor the other, save naphtha?

Of course, the rabbinic authority was thinking of the Jewish population of Alexandria but he is also knowledgeable concerning the availability of oils besides the olive for illumination in other regions of the Middle East.[5]

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[4] For castor oil and its use, see Sandy, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 35-42; for sesame, see *ibid.* 54-62.

[5] It should be noted, however, that the rabbi's statement concerning Egypt is limited to Alexandria, and not as inclusive as that made for Babylonia and Persia. Note also the confirming observation of Strabo (above, n. 2) that the gardens of Alexandria have olive trees that furnish no oil for the city.

For the use of radish oil as a food, a citation in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* mentioned above (*PG* 75.145A) tells of an encounter of Benjamin, Presbyter of Kellia in Scete, with an old ascetic monk who

> bid us to have something to eat. He gave us radish oil and we said to him 'Rather than this, give us a bit of useful (i.e., good, olive?) oil.' Upon hearing this, he crossed himself and said, 'if there is any other oil, I do not know it.'
>
> (... ἐκράτηcεν ἡμᾶc φαγεῖν. ἔβαλε δὲ ἡμῖν ῥαφανέλαιον. Καὶ λέγομεν αὐτῷ: 'Πάτερ, μᾶλλον μικρὸν χρήcιμον ἔλαιον βάλε ἡμῖν.' Ὁ δὲ ἀκούcαc, ἐcφράγιcεν ἑαυτόν, λέγων: 'Εἴ ἐcτιν ἄλλο ἔλαιον ἐκτόc, οὐκ οἶδα ἐγώ.')[6]

Turning to the papyri, radish oil runs the gamut of citations similar to that of other commodities regarding purchases, receipts, expenditures, leases, personal and official correspondence. One document, however, stands out above all others and bears on R. Johanan b. Nuri's statement concerning Alexandria's dependency on radish oil. *P.Mich.* XI 613, dates to 415 A.D., is a receipt of an official in the office of the *praeses* of the province of Arcadia, acknowledging that he has received 150 solidi from councilors of Alexandria, out of the account for provisioning the city (ἀλιμονικὸc λόγοc), for the purchase of 9,000 xestai of radish oil at a rate of 60 xestai to the solidus. The 9,000 xestai, by the Alexandrian measure, were to be delivered to and made available at the harbor of the Arsinoite nome. Coming under the rubric of ἀλιμονικόc, these 9,000 xestai, representing 125 metretes (close to 5,000 liters), were authorized as a food entitlement.[7]

P.Mich. 613 points us also to the region where radish oil must have been produced in quantity. The city in which the document

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[6] Cited without comment in *P.Ross.Georg.* II 41.54 n. and *P.Mich.* 613, p. 38, n. 4. This episode most likely made its way into the "Sayings of the Fathers" to illustrate the humility and abstinence of the eremitic monks,

[7] It should also be noted that *P.Mich.* 613 is a rare case, if not the only one to date, of a vegetable oil being provided under Roman legislation for the *alimonia* of Egyptian cities. On this topic, see A.C. Johnson and L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 249-54. For radish oil prices as evidence that the Michigan papyrus dates to earlier than the Oxyrhynchus price schedules discussed below, see the comments of John Rea in *P.Oxy.* LI 3628-36, introduction.

was drawn up was Heracleopolis (line 1), the capital of the province of Arcadia, and the port to which 9,000 xestai of radish oil were to be delivered was Arsinoe (l. 6), also in the province of Arcadia. The names of other cities in Arcadia crop up in fifth-century documents dealing with radish oil. Of particular interest are *P.Oxy.* LI 3628-33 (pp. 72-93), containing six schedules of prices per unit for eleven staple commodities (gold, silver, unworked silver, wheat, barley, lentils, chaff, wine, meat, salt, radish oil). Cynopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Arsinoe, and Aphroditopolis, all nomes within Arcadia, provide prices for radish oil of 75, 80, and 105 myriads of denarii per xestes.

The fifth-century documents not only inform us that radish oil was an item in the Egyptian diet along with grains, meat and salt, but also name some of the centers within the Fayum and neighboring nomes for its production. Further evidence for the production of radish oil from this region as early as the first century can be perceived in contracts for the leasing of oil-presses (ἐλαιουργεῖα) on which rent is paid in the form of radish oil. *P.Prag.* I 38, dated to 96 A.D., records the lease of an oil-press in the village of Heracleia in the Arsinoite nome, for which the lessor commits to pay a rental of 2 metretes of radish oil and other items now lost in the lacuna. *SB* XVI 12518, dated to 104/5 A.D., is a lease for a press from the village of Theadelphia in the Arsinoite nome with a yearly rental of 220 drachmas and a gift of a keramion of radish oil. *P.Amh.* II 93, from 181 A.D., also from the village of Heracleia of the Arsinoite nome, leases out a press for a rental of seven keramia of radish oil along with half a chous for the festival of Isis, a chous for the harvest festival, and an extra allowance of two choes. *P.Fay.* 95, dated to the second century A.D., is a lease of (two?) presses in the village of Dionysias, once again in the Arsinoite nome, which may have been used for the production of olive oil in addition to radish oil. The yearly rental for the presses included one metretes six choes of strained olive oil and one metretes six choes of radish oil as well as extra allowances among which were six choes of olive oil and six of radish at festival time (some items are probably missing). *P.Fay.* 96, from 143 A.D. (cf. *BL* VI, 37), is a receipt for the rent of oil-press that called for two and a half metretes of olive oil and a similar amount of radish oil. *P.Oxy.* LI 3639, dated to 412 A.D., is a lease of

a "complete oil factory" (ὁλόκληρον ἐλαιουργῖο[ν]) for a rental of 120 xestai of radish oil and a similar number of artabas of clean (wheat?).[8]

There are three documents from the Oxyrhynchus archive that offer unusual insights concerning the place of radish oil in the domestic life of the nome's inhabitants. Two of them, *P.Oxy.* X 1275 and XXXIV 2721, both of the third century A.D., are contracts involving the employment of musicians, and a dancing girl in the case of 2721, to perform for a number of days (five and four, respectively) at a festival. In addition to payments of sums of money, the contracts also call for food and drink for the entertainers.

In *P.Oxy.* 1275 (III A.D.), the hiring committee was obligated to provide transportation, a daily rate of pay as well as (ll. 16-20):"40 double loaves of bread and 8 kotylai of radish oil, and, for the whole period of the engagement, one keramion of wine and one of vinegar." *P.Oxy.* 2721 (234 A.D.) calls for transportation and lodging and, like 1275, a daily pay in money and a supply of (ll. 14-7) "12 double loaves of bread, 2 kotylai of radish oil, apart from what goes into the lamp (χωρὶϲ χωροῦντ[ο]ϲ λαμπάδα), one segmented (?) bread, the usual service, and for the whole period of the engagement one keramion of wine ..." The two documents show clearly that radish oil, along with bread, was a staple dietary item.[9] *P.Oxy.* 1275 demonstrates that the oil was also used for illumination.

The third Oxyrhynchus document illustrates further that the use of radish oil had a wider application than its use at festivals or

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[8] The large quantities of radish oil produced from seed would lead us to expect documentary evidence of transactions for ῥαφανόϲπερμον. However, a check of the DDBDP (PHI #7) yielded only one document, *P.Princ.* III 147 (revised in *BASP* 5 [1968] 10-2), dated to 87/88 A.D., a lease of land which was to be sown with radish (l. 12: ϲπε<ῖ>ραι ῥαφάνῳ) at a rental of two artabas of radish seed per aroura (ll. 14-5: ἀνὰ ῥαφανο-| ϲπέρμου ἀρτάβαϲ δύο). The likelihood is that radish seed was frequently cited under the general term of "vegetable seed" (λαχανόϲπερμον) which is often mentioned in the papyri.

[9] The radish oil that the desert ascetic (*Apophth. Patrum*, above) placed before the presbyter as a meal, was undoubtedly served with bread. In this writer's experience among the bedouins of Southern Palestine and Sinai, bread and olive oil were basic elements of their diet.

to express the humility of a desert ascetic. *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, dated to the late fourth century, is a letter of woman to her absent husband, an *officialis* of the *dux*, probably at Alexandria, concerning a number of items and money she had received from several people which included 50 xestai of radish oil from her husband's brother (l. 22: καὶ ἔπεμψέ μοι ὁ ἀδελφός cου ῥαφανίνου ἐλέου ξέcταc πεντήκοντα). From her husband's status and from the list of goods she received, and which she expected her husband to deliver, this woman's household, if not one of the elite at Oxyrhynchus, was one of high social rank. The 50 xestai of radish oil she received from her husband's brother undoubtedly went to illuminate her home and/or for use in her kitchen and on her table.

The appearance of quantities of radish oil produced in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes once again raises the question of whether the generic word ἔλαιον in the papyri should be taken as "olive oil" or more generally as "vegetable oil." The question comes to mind in view of the numerous citations of ἔλαιον in the customshouse duties accounts of the second century, particularly the majority of those which involve transportation from villages such as Soknopaiou Nesos and Bacchias in the Arsinoite nome. P.J. Sijpesteijn has treated these documents in fine detail in his *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Zutphen 1987). Under the rubric "ἔλαιον = olive oil" his footnote (p. 61, n. 10) reads "ἔλαιον can mean 'any oily substance.' I suppose that in the customshouse documents the word has its more specific meaning 'olive oil'." He goes on to state that

> The customshouse documents mention ἔλαιον 181 times. In 105 cases we can establish that the oil is exported (in 14 cases no mention is made of import or export). We may, therefore, conclude that in other cases the ἔλαιον was exported as well... The number of attestations proves that ἔλαιον was a major export product of the Arsinoite nome.

Sijpesteijn makes the further point (p. 45) that ἔλαιον and other agricultural goods "were exported from the Fayum to Alexandria to feed its large population, some members of which happened to be the owners of the land from which the products came."

Sandy, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 18-24, has treated at length the question of unspecified citations of ἔλαιον in the Ptolemaic docu-

ments. He came to the conclusion that there were three uses for the term, the second of which was the only and obvious one applicable to radish oil (p. 24); namely, that the term ἔλαιον designates a specific oil when an adjective indicates that a particular oil is intended.[10] There are four options for "oil" in the Ptolemaic papyri (castor, sesame, safflower, and olive), whereas, if the Edict of Prices is a reliable guide, there are only two in the Roman, olive and radish oil. In documents in which both oils are cited along with their price, the Roman, unlike the Ptolemaic, display in a number of instances the precaution of adding the word χρηcτόc after ἔλαιον to remove the ambiguity in identifying olive oil. There are 24 citations of ελαι- χρηcτ- in the DDBDP, of which 7 appear in conjunction with a mention of radish oil: *BGU* I 14.4.20 (21)[11], 34.5.21 (22); *P.Abinn.* 66.3.52, 54 (50); *P.Bad.* IV 54.8 (6); *P.Ryl.* IV 627.8.186 (5.90), 630-7.156, 212, 256 (528); *P.Stras.* IV 299.v.10 (11).

The customshouse documents involving tariffs on ἔλαιον and other products appear to have been calculated as stated by A.C. Johnson, "at a fixed sum per measure or load, irrespective of value."[12] That being so, there was no need for the customs officials to investigate what kind of oil, olive or radish, was being transported in closed containers; nor was there any need for the shippers to spell out the distinction between the two by use of such terms as ἔλαιον ῥαφάνινον and χρηcτόν. If Alexandria was the ultimate destination of the oil, it seems most likely that olive and/or radish oil were being shipped there since Alexandria, as evidenced from the documents, used both.

In sum, the evidence for the production of radish oil on a reasonably large scale in Fayum and nearby communities, should lead us to take a broader view of the possible meaning of ἔλαιον when, as in the case of the customshouse documents, the term appears

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[10] A check of the DDBDP for ελαι- ραφαν- produced 40 documents; ραφανελαι- yielded 13.

[11] The numeral in parentheses indicates the line number in the document that mentions radish oil.

[12] *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Vol. II: *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (Baltimore 1936) 591.

without qualification and presents us with an uncertain choice between two well-known oils. In those instances, it may be best to translate ἔλαιον conservatively as "oil" or "vegetable oil." In other cases, references to radish oil in the documents do not offer any uncertainty since they are made clear by spelling out the term as ἔλαιον ῥαφάνινον or ῥαφανέλαιον. That being said, the place of radish oil among the agricultural products of Roman Egypt deserves due recognition.

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The Health of Ptolemy II Philadelphus

From the statements of Strabo (17.1.5 [C 789]), Athenaeus (12.536e), Aelian (*VH* 4.15) and Caelius Aurelianus (*Tard. Pass.* 5.29-30), Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-46 B.C.) is generally characterized as being infirm by the majority of modern scholars. This has led to him being regarded as a stay-at-home commander and dilettante. In the following discussion Philadelphus' medical problems will be discussed with reference to his family background, activities and the life expectancy of men in Graeco-Roman Egypt. I will argue that while Philadelphus may have suffered from a painful condition, there is not enough evidence to make the assumption that he was in poor health.

The constitutution of Philadelphus is often commented upon, and the following example from Bevan highlights the generally held belief that he was infirm, with the added suggestion that he may have been a hypochondriac:[1]

> He was of fair complexion, an obvious European, probably of a ruddy corpulence; there was plainly in the kings of this house an inherited tendency to grow fat in later life. Some constitutional weakness, or, it may be, too tender care for his own health, made him averse from bodily exertions.

A recent example of this belief can be found in Hazzard, who comments: "Perhaps—one speculates here—his poor health contributed to his uneasy relationship with courtiers, bureaucrats, and family members."[2] Such speculation can certainly be elaborated upon where Philadelphus is concerned, as Hazzard does.[3] For example, the King had some quite significant disagreements with family members and courtiers. He imprisoned Demetrius of Phaleron, who

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[1] E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London 1927) 57.

[2] R.A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (Toronto 2000) 42.

[3] Hazzard, *ibid.* 42-3.

died in prison (Diog. Laert. 5.78-9); executed two half-brothers (Paus. 1.7.1); repudiated his first wife, who was plotting against him with two courtiers, one of whom was the court physician Chrysippus (*Schol. Theocrit.* 17.128); and drove his co-regent, Ptolemy "the Son," to revolt against him (Trogus *Prol.* 26). A case could also be made for his health being behind his need to appoint Ptolemy "the Son" as his co-regent in 268/7 (*P.Sorb.* inv. 2440), if it could be shown that Philadelphus was in poor health at that time.

Philadelphus' father, Ptolemy I Soter, was noted for his long life ([Lucian]. *Macrob.* 12),[4] fathering Philadelphus in his late fifties.[5] Ptolemy I was not the only one of the Successors notable for his long life, since when Lysimachus died at the battle of Corupedium in 281, he must have been a septuagenarian,[6] as was Seleucus at his death in the same year. Although Philadelphus did not have the longevity of his father, or his contemporary Antigonus Gonatas (born 319, died 239), his own lifespan of 62 years was above average for the ancient world. This can be shown using the standard Coale-Demeny life table Model West, Level 4, male,[7] which was used in a recent demographic study by Bagnall and Frier to estimate that the life expectancy for a male at birth in Roman Egypt was 25.0 years, which increased to 44.7 years for those males aged 5 and over.[8] This model would also reflect life expectancy in Ptolemaic Egypt, and though members of the elite would be expected to have a higher life expectancy, Philadelphus still had a relatively long life. His sister

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[4] His year of birth may have been 367/6 ([Lucian] *Macrob.* 12), but this is by no means certain. On this see W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (London and New York 1992) 207, 222.

[5] Philadelphus was born on the island of Cos in 309 (Marmor Parium *FGrH* 239 B19; Theocr. *Id.* 17.58 ff.).

[6] H. Lund, *Lysimachus: a study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London and New York 1992) 3, puts Lysimachus' birth between 361 and 351.

[7] R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 99-101. See T.G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (Baltimore and London 1992) 79-88, for a good discussion of the Coale-Demeny tables.

[8] Bagnall and Frier, *ibid.* 99-101.

Arsinoë II (316-270) died at 46,[9] which may be compared with the female life expectancies of 21.2 years at birth and 42.4 years for those who survive to 5 and over.[10] Philadelphus' other full sister, Philotera, died before Arsinoë II, but her dates are unknown.

The cause of Philadelphus' death is not recorded, but it can be assumed that it was from natural causes, since the throne passed to Ptolemy III Euergetes without incident. An inscription from a granite pedestal of a monument at the temple of Khonsu at Thebes indicates that Philadelphus had at least one illness serious enough to seek help from the Egyptian gods.[11] The king thanked the god Khonsu[12] for having "rescued his majesty from serious illness" (*Urk.* II 22).[13]

However, the only illness that he was recorded as suffering from was gout.[14] Athenaeus (12.536) relates an anecdote from Phylarchus, who says of Philadelphus that,

> ... in spite of his being the most august of all princes and devoted, if anyone ever was, to culture and learning, he was nevertheless so utterly distorted in judgement and spoiled by his unmeasured luxury that he thought he was going to live for ever, and boasted that he was the only one who had found exemption from death. And so, tortured by an attack of gout (ποδάγρα) which

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[9] On the dating of Arsinoë's death see H. Cadell, "À quelle date Arsinoé II Philadelphe est-elle décédée?" in H. Melaerts (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles, 10 mai 1995.* Studia Hellenistica 34 (Leuven 1998) 1-3.

[10] Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 102.

[11] For a discussion of this inscription see F. Jonckheere, "Médecins de Cour et Médecine Palatine sous les Pharaons," *Cd'É* 27 (1952) 73.

[12] On Khonsu as a healing god see H. Brunner, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (Wiesbaden 1975), *s.v.* Chons, cols. 960-3 .

[13] This inscription can be dated to the period after the death of Arsinoë II in 270, since she is called "the divine Arsinoë." On her deification see J. Quaegebeur, "Cleopatra VII and the Cults of the Ptolemaic Queens," in R.S. Bianchi (ed.), *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (Mainz am Rhein 1988) 41-3.

[14] M.D. Grmek, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*, trans. M. Muellner and L. Muellner (Baltimore and London 1989) 376, n. 97, gives the first recorded case of gout as being Hieron, the tyrant of Syracuse (Pindar *Pythian* I 50; 89-90 and scholia 89ab). For a discussion of the lack of palaeopathological evidence of gout see C. Roberts and K. Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease* (Ithaca 1995^2) 123.

> lasted several days, when he began to feel somewhat easier, and spied through some windows the Egyptians at lunch by the river-side eating plain food as they lay sprawled on the sands, he cried out, "Unlucky devil that I am! To think that I cannot even be one of those fellows!" (trans. C.B. Gulick).

Interestingly, the first part of this anecdote says that Philadelphus believed he "was going to live for ever," which would indicate that he was not particularly ill. However, his ailment is further evidenced by Caelius Aurelianus (*Tard. Pass.* 5.29-30), who also says he had podagra, the name given to gout affecting the foot.[15]

Gout, a form of arthritis, is caused by hyperuricemia, a condition where there are higher than normal levels of uric acid in the blood.[16] This can lead to the accumulation of monosodium urate crystals in a joint and surrounding soft tissue, resulting in pain and swelling. The most frequently affected joint is the big toe (the first metatarsophalangeal joint), although the other toes, feet, hands, elbows, wrists and knees can also be involved.[17] The pain and swelling of an acute attack goes away after 5 to 10 days.[18]

Gout is very painful, which could explain the inscription of thanks to Khonsu. An extreme example of the suffering it can bring occurs in Pliny the Younger (1.12). Pliny tells how his friend Corellius Rufus had contracted gout when he was 32, and had managed to "keep it under control by temperate living and strict continence," and "through sheer strength of mind" (trans. B. Radice). But by the

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[15] R. Porter and G.S. Rousseau, *Gout, the Patrician Malady* (New Haven and London 1998) 13, note that Greek physicians did not have a specific name for gout, and identified arthritic ailments in relation to the joint affected. For example, chiagra was the term used for arthritis in the hands and gonagra in the knees.

[16] J.R. Pittman and M.H. Bross, "Diagnosis and Management of Gout," *American Family Physician* 59.7 (1999) 1799-801.

[17] L.B. Siegel, J.A. Alloway and M.D. Harris, "Gout and Hyperuricemia," *American Family Physician* 59.4 (1999) 926.

[18] R.S. Dinsmoor, "Gout," *Gale Encyclopedia of Medicine*, Edition 1 (1999) 1311 (http://web4. infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/572/973/62922070w3/purl =rcl_HRCA_0_A54824581&dyn=5!ar_fmt?sw_aep=uq [29 April 2000]). The self-limited nature of gout is discussed by W.N. Kelley and H.R. Schumacher, Jr., "Gout," in W.N. Kelley et al. (eds.), *Textbook of Rheumatology* II (Philadelphia 1993[4]) Chap. 76, 1319.

time he was 67 it had spread to other limbs and he could no longer endure the pain, so he committed suicide.[19] On the basis of the suffering of Philoctetes, who begs Neoptolemus to cut his foot off when he is seized by pain in Sophocles' play of the same name (ll. 730 ff.), it has been suggested that Sophocles himself had gout, since his description of an attack is "so careful and dramatic," and includes the occurrence of "ulcerated gouty tophi."[20] If Sophocles did have gout he would have suffered from it for a very long time, since he was 90 years old when he died in 406. That Sophocles could live such a long life with such a painful affliction highlights the fact that it is not a life-threatening condition.[21] This was recognized by the Hippocratic writers, and according to the *Affections* (31) podagra "is the most violent of all such conditions of the joints, as well as the most chronic and intractable ... but [it is] not mortal" (trans. P. Potter), although in *Diseases* I 3 there is the proviso that it is "not fatal unless complications arise" (trans. Potter).[22]

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[19] Another extreme example of suffering caused by gout comes from Pliny the Elder (*NH* 23.58), who says that on the advice of his physician Marcus Agrippa he was driven to plunge his legs into hot vinegar in order to alleviate the pain, "even at the price of losing all power to use his feet and all sensation in them" (trans. W.H.S. Jones).

[20] W. Grassi, A. Farina and C. Cervini, "The Foot of Philoctetes," *Lancet* 354 (1999) 2156. However, A. Bryceson, "Philoctetes' Foot (Letter to the Editor)," *Lancet* 355 (2000) 850, rejects this diagnosis of Philoctetes' ailment, considering it to be mycetoma (Madura foot). But it seems unlikely that Sophocles would have encountered this, as it occurs mainly in the northern tropical zones. On mycetoma see J. Barrett, "Mycetoma," *Gale Encyclopedia of Medicine*, Edition 1 (1999), 1990 (http://web2.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/466/254/64287588w3/purl=rc1_HRCA_0_A54823325&dyn=4!ar_fmt?sw_aep=uq [29 April 2000]).

[21] However, while it may not be mortal, as Roubenoff comments in C.M. Sauber, "Still Painful after All These Years," *Harvard Health Letter* 20.8 (1995), 8: "its presence is often a marker for things that could kill you, such as high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes, or stroke."

[22] See S. Byl, "Rheumatism and Gout in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*," *AC* 57 (1988) 89-102, for a discussion of gout in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. The Hippocratic writers had a reasonable understanding of gout, but Byl describes the treatment they recommended as being "mediocre if not worthless" (p. 100).

Ninety percent of gout occurs in men over 40.[23] It occurs in women after menopause, and it is atypical for men under 30 and premenopausal women to develop gout.[24] Around sixty percent of sufferers have their next attack within a year, and only seven percent do not have another attack within ten years.[25] Subsequent occurrences can affect other joints,[26] and in fifty percent of cases it causes the formation of tophi, which are chalky deposits of uric acid crystals that develop subcutaneously on the outer edge of the ear, around the elbow, over the fingers and toes, and on the Achilles tendon.[27] Typically a person with gout will have hypertension and impaired renal function.[28] Kidney stones formed from uric acid are common, and can result in abdominal pain and nausea, as well as vomiting, fever, or blood in the urine.[29]

Acute cases of gout can now be treated with nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), such as Naprosyn®, and steroid drugs if these fail.[30] A drug that does work was in fact available in antiquity, colchicum, which is extracted from the bulb of the autumn crocus (*Crocus autumnal*).[31] This plant grows in North

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[23] K. Flieger, "Getting to Know Gout," *FDA Consumer* March (1995) 19-22.

[24] Siegel, Alloway and Harris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 17) 926.

[25] Kelley and Schumacher, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 1293-4.

[26] Pittman and Bross, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 1801, give the other joins affected in polyarthritic attacks as including the insteps, heels, ankles, knees, fingers, wrists, and elbows.

[27] Siegel, Alloway and Harris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 17) 927. Kelley and Schumacher, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 1295, note that while the tophaceous deposits are "relatively painless," they can cause stiffness and pain as they progress, with "extensive destruction of joints" and deformities from large subcutaneous tophi a possibility.

[28] Pittman and Bross, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) 1802.

[29] D.A. DeRoin, "Gout," *Clinical Reference Systems* (July 1, 1999) 636 (http://web4. infot... /purl=rcl_HRCA_0_A55987366?sw_aep=uq [29 April 2000]).

[30] Siegel, Alloway and Harris, *op.cit.* (above, n. 17) 925.

[31] Porter and Rousseau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 17-8. It was described as gout specific in Alexander Trallianus (VI A.D.). As Flieger, 22, explains, colchicum is still in use, but this is declining as it can be toxic, and can cause nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea, and stomach cramps.

Africa, Asia Minor and Southern Europe. Its medicinal properties were known to Dioscorides (fl. I A.D.), but he believed it was mainly useful as an antidote for mushroom poisoning, which suggests that its efficacy against gout may not have been known in Philadelphus' day.[32] Philadelphus did, however, receive some form of treatment through "Erasistratus' remedy" (Cael. Aur. *Tard. Pass.* 5.50). Erasistratus of Ceos (ca. 310-ca. 250) practised in Alexandria under Philadelphus, and wrote a book called *On Podagra*.[33] He is criticized by Caelius Aurelianus (*Tard. Pass.* 5.50), since "he prescribed a plaster for King Ptolemy without publishing a description of the drug" (trans. I.E. Drabkin).[34]

During Philadelphus' reign, in fact, two doctors of great note resided in Alexandria, Herophilus of Chalcedon (ca. 325-ca. 255) and his younger contemporary Erasistratus.[35] The King's patronage of these doctors allowed them to make some important discoveries in anatomy and physiology, which are well documented in the works

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[32] Dioscorides did prescribe some simple remedies for podagra in *De materia medica* (e.g. 4.64.4.5) that would have had an analgesic and antipyretic effect, as noted by Porter and Rousseau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 17.

[33] Philadelphus would have been fortunate to have Erasistratus involved in his treatment, since Celsus (4.31) says that he rejected the commonly used emetics and purgatives to treat podagra; cf. Cael. Aur. *Tard. Pass.* 5.50, where it is also noted that he rejected the use of purgatives.

[34] Caelius Aurelianus, *Tardae Passiones* in I.E. Drabkin (ed. and trans.), *On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950).

[35] Herophilus was a student of Praxagoras, who taught at the Hippocratic school on Cos, and he practised medicine in Alexandria under Ptolemy I and Philadelphus. His career is dealt with in great detail by H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge 1989). However, there is a degree of controversy surrounding the career of Erasistratus. P.M. Fraser, "The Career of Erasistratus of Ceos," *RIL* 103 (1969) 518-37, and *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 347, II 502, n. 45, believes he practised in Antioch, but the evidence does not preclude his presence in Alexandria under Philadelphus, as discussed by G.E.R. Lloyd, "A Note on Erasistratus of Ceos," *JHS* 95 (1975) 172-5; Staden, *ibid.* 36-47; and J. Longrigg, *Greek Rational Medicine: Philosophy and Medicine from Alcmaeon to the Alexandrians* (London and New York 1993) 181-2. For a general discussion of the physicians associated with the Ptolemaic court in the third century see C. Gorteman, "Médecins de cour dans l'Égypte du III^{e} siècle avant J.-C.," *Cd'É* 32 (1957) 313-36.

of later medical writers. From their association with Philadelphus it would seem likely that if he had any other serious ailments they would have been commented on, but gout is the only ailment that has been noted. It would also be hoped that they gave him the benefit of their knowledge of the risk factors associated with gout, since these were known. In the Hippocratic teachings gout was seen as an imbalance of the humours resulting from indulgence in rich foods and wine, lack of exercise and sexual excess.[36] While the latter is not considered a risk factor today, obesity, diet, and alcohol certainly are.[37] Philadelphus would have been at risk on all these counts. Coin portraits show that he was overweight.[38] None of the sources indicate that he was as obese as his half-brother Magas of Cyrene,[39] who Athenaeus (12.550b-c) says was grossly overweight when he choked to death in 250. Yet weight loss would have been advisable, as would an avoidance of foods rich in purines, such as beef, chicken and mushrooms, as well as moderation of his wine intake.[40] The doctor in the following passage, Apollodorus (*Pros. Ptol.* 16576), may have written his pamphlet for Philadelphus, which

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36 Porter and Rousseau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 13-4. The humours were blood, yellow bile (choler), phlegm and black bile (melancholy). The humoral model of health and disease followed by the Hippocratic school regarded the flow of these bodily fluids as important determinants in sustaining life ([Hippocrates] *De natura hominis* 4).

37 Dinsmoor, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 1311.

38 According to M. Briley, "Weight Gain and Gout," *Arthritis Today* 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1991) 8, a high protein diet coupled with weight gain results in an increase in the number of body cells and thus heightens the production of uric acid. Briley also notes that studies have shown that the recurrence rate of gout may be reduced by "weight loss through a sensible diet low in fat, salt and protein," which should lower the levels of uric acid in the blood.

39 Magas was the son of Berenice, Philadelphus' mother, and her first husband Philip, who Pausanias says was "a Macedonian, but of no note and lowly origin" (1.7.1).

40 This topic is discussed in "On the Link between Diet and Gout," *Tufts University Diet and Nutrition Letter* 10.9 (1992) 7, where it is also noted that purine rich foods break down into uric acid, while excess alcohol raises the blood level of uric acid.

could indicate that helping the King avoid the risk factors for gout could have been difficult for him:

> The physician Apollodorus in his pamphlet advising King Ptolemy what wines to drink—the Italian vintages being then unknown—praised the wine of Naspercene in Pontus ... (Pliny *HN* 14.76, trans. H. Rackham).[41]

Philadelphus may have faced another threat, since Caelius Aurelianus says that "the disease seems to occur commonly in certain regions, e.g., Caria, and Alexandria in Egypt" (*Tard. Pass.* 5.29-30, trans. Drabkin). This could suggest an environmental factor, such as the local water supply being saturated with mineral salts, which can be a trigger for gout.[42] The water composition of the Nile has changed since the construction of the Aswan High Dam.[43] Figures obtained prior to its construction indicate that the concentration of soluble salts in the water fluctuated throughout the year.[44] This

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[41] The Great Procession provides another example of Philadelphus' interest in wine with the Dionysiac section including carts carrying Satyrs and Silenoi pressing wine, and a wine skin filled with over 130,000 litres of wine, which was drawn by 600 men (Athen. 5.199a-200b). Erasistratus seems to have been a wine lover too, championing Lesbian wine as one of the great vintages (Pliny *NH* 14.8).

[42] A. Riemer, Review of R. Porter and G.S. Rousseau: *Gout, the Patrician Malady* (New Haven and London 1998) in *Quadrant* 43.3 (1999) 80.

[43] A.M. Balba, "Evaluation of Changes in the Nile Valley Water Composition Resulting from the Aswan High Dam," *Journal of Environmental Quality* 8 (1979) 153-6.

[44] For these figures see Balba, *ibid.* 154-5 and Table 1. In V.M. Dekov, F. Araújo, A. Van Put and R. Van Grieken, "Chemical Composition of Sediments, Suspended Matter, River Water and Ground Water of the Nile (Aswan-Sohag Traverse)," *Science of the Total Environment* 201 (1997) 198, it is noted that the Nile has the highest content of dissolved salts of the major African rivers. It seems likely that Philadelphus drank the local water, as Nile water was thought to have special qualities, and he ensured that his daughter Berenice had a continual supply of Nile water to drink when she married Antiochus II in 253, because of its reputed powers of fertility (Athen. 2.45c). Alexandria's water supply came via a canal from the Canopic branch of the Nile and was stored in cisterns under the city, as Caesar (*Bell. Alex.* 5-6) discovered in his battle against the Alexandrians. See J.-Y. Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered* (New York 1998) 126-43, for a good discussion of the city's water supply. Alexandria is situated on a limestone ridge, which could also have influenced the chemical composition of the water supply. On the geological aspects of Alexandria see H.M. El-Asmar and

may have been a factor in Philadelphus' gout. Nonetheless, drinking water is recommended for gout, since it helps to flush out the uric acid, and decreases the risk of kidney stones developing.[45] There is no mention of gout from Pharaonic Egypt, and paleopathological evidence is limited to a mummy from the Christian period.[46] The incidence of gout in Alexandria today would be interesting to know, but such information has proved difficult to obtain.

It is not possible to make a definitive diagnosis of gout in Philadelphus' case, since this can only be done by aspirating the joint and examining the synovial fluid for monosodium urate crystals.[47] Therefore it is necessary to consider what differential diagnosis could be made for podagra.[48] Among the disorders that can mimic gout is chondrocalcinosis (calcium pyrophosphate deposition disease).[49] In "pseudogout," as it is known, calcium rather than uric acid is deposited in the joints, and can be associated with a number of conditions, including hyperparathyroidism and hypothyroidism. But it is much less common and milder than normal gout, and generally affects the larger joints, such as the knee, and it is rare for the big toe to be affected.[50]

Rheumatoid arthritis, which causes inflammation and joint deformity, could be another cause of podagra.[51] However, while it is

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P. Wood, "Quaternary Shoreline Development: The Northwestern Coast of Egypt," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 19.11 (2000) 1137-49.

45 Flieger, *op.cit.* (above, n. 23) 22.

46 Grmek, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 73.

47 Kelley and Schumacher, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 1293.

48 For a general survey of the disorders that can present as podagra see J.S. Bomalaski and H.R. Schumacher, "Podagra is More than Gout," *Bulletin on the Rheumatic Diseases* 34.1 (1984) 1-8.

49 On pseudogout and other crystal deposition disorders see A.J. Reginato and A.M. Reginato, "Diseases Associated with the Deposition of Calcium Pyrophosphate or Hydroxyapatite," in W.N. Kelley et al. (eds.), *Textbook of Rheumatology* II (Philadelphia 1997^5) Chap. 81, 1352-62. Calcium phosphate crystal deposition disease (apatite) can also present as gout, but Reginato and Reginato indicate that it is mostly seen in women (p. 1363).

50 Reginato and Reginato, *ibid.* 1352-5.

51 Bomalaski and Schumacher, *op.cit.* (above, n. 48) 2.

the most common arthritic condition today, it had not yet evolved into its present form in antiquity, so this can be eliminated.[52] Osteoarthritis was present in the ancient world.[53] After the hands, the feet, knees and hips are the most commonly affected joints, but unlike gout, women are at a far greater risk of developing the condition than men.[54] Gonococcal arthritis could also be a differential diagnosis of podagra. It is a complication of gonorrhoea, for which Philadelphus as a sexually active adult, who can be associated with a number courtesans in the sources,[55] would have been a candidate. But joint involvement only occurs in 3% of gonorrhoea cases, with women afflicted twice as often as men, and it most often affects the knee, elbow, or wrist of the sufferer.[56] There is also some argument as to whether gonorrhoea was present in the ancient world.[57] Therefore, given that the sources reveal nothing further about Philadelphus' condition other than that he had podagra, and that an attack eased after several days (Athen. 12.536), it is likely that he had classic gout, particularly when these details are coupled his gender and the risk factors of obesity and alcohol consumption that he faced.

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[52] Grmek, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 83-5.

[53] *Ibid.* 77-9.

[54] Osteoarthritis is a complex condition that is not fully understood, and may not be the result of a single disorder. See P. Creamer and M.C. Hochberg, "Osteoarthritis," *Lancet* 350 (1997) 503-9.

[55] D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death: the Hellenistic Dynasties* (London 1999) 221, lists 11 courtesans associated with Philadelphus. He adds Aglais (Athen. 10.415a-b; Aelian *VH* 1.26) and Hippe (Athen. 12.538a-b; Machon F18 Gow; Eustathius on *Iliad* 21.79) to the 9 in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI: Agathocleia (*Pros. Ptol.* 14726), Bilistiche (*Pros. Ptol.* 14717), Cleino (*Pros. Ptol.* 14726), Didyme (*Pros. Ptol.* 14719), Glauce (*Pros. Ptol.* 14718), Mnesis (*Pros. Ptol.* 14728), Myrtion (*Pros. Ptol.* 14729), Potheine (*Pros. Ptol.* 14732) and Stratonice (*Pros. Ptol.* 14733).

[56] On gonococcal arthritis see G.I. Uwaifo and H. Schneiderman, "Gonococcal Arthritis and Tenosynovitis," *Consultant* 38 (1998) 2740 ff. D. Goldberg, "Septic Arthritis," *Lancet* 351 (1998) 197-202, discusses gonococcal and non-gonococcal bacterial arthritis in relation to other forms of arthritis.

[57] Grmek, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 144-5.

Philadelphus' health may also have been affected by thyroid disease. The possible presence of hyperthyroidism in the family is seen in coin portraits of Philadelphus, Arsinoë II and their mother Berenice I (Svoronos 603), and evidenced by their protruding eyes and swollen necks. The diagnosis of disease from such representations is obviously problematic. But the features of these portraits are so pronounced that they seem worthy of some consideration. The possibility that Arsinoë II had hyperthyroidism was first noted by Jacobsthal.[58] Thompson considers that the features shown in these portraits are "reasonably authentic."[59]

An autoimmune disease, hyperthyroidism, or thyrotoxicosis, is caused by excessive amounts of the thyroid hormone being produced and released into the body.[60] It can be hereditary and affects 2% of women, but only one-tenth as many men.[61] The symptoms can include: anxiety, tiredness, or sleeplessness; tremors; sweating; breathlessness; difficulty focusing the eyes or protrusion of the eye balls (exophthalmos);[62] weight loss; inability to tolerate heat; fast heart rate; enlarged thyroid gland (goitre); increased appetite; and diarrhoea.[63] The most common form is Graves' disease, which often occurs in young adults.[64] The effects of hyperthyroidism generally

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[58] See R. Hinks, "A Portrait of a Ptolemaic Queen," *JHS* 48 (1928) 242, n. 21.

[59] D.B. Thompson, "A Portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos," *AJA* 59 (1955) 203.

[60] J.S. Schilling, "Hyperthyroidism: Diagnosis and Management of Graves' Disease," *Nurse Practitioner* 22.6 (1997) 72.

[61] See Schilling, *ibid.* 72; and J.H. Lazarus, "Hyperthyroidism," *Lancet* 349 (1997) 339.

[62] J.R. Polsdorfer, "Exophthalmos," *Gale Encyclopedia of Medicine*, Edition 1 (1999), 1124 (http://web2.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/466/254/64287588w3/purl=rcl_HRCA_0_A54824488&dyn=34!ar_fmt?sw_aep=uq [29 April 2000]), says that Graves' disease is the most common cause of exophthalmos.

[63] For these symptoms see "Hyperthyroidism," *Clinical Reference Systems* (July 1, 1999), 746 (http://web2.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/466/254/64287588w3/purl=rcl_HRCA_0_A55987436&dyn=42!xrn_9_0_A55987436?sw_aep=uq (3 March 2000); and Lazarus, 339-340.

[64] Schilling, *op.cit.* (above, n. 60) 72. Graves' disease is the most common cause of hyperthyroidism in young adults, while toxic nodular goitre is the common cause in the elderly. On this see K.A. Woeber, "Update on the Management

last as long as there is an overabundance of thyroid hormones in the blood.[65] The disease can sometimes improve without treatment. However, it can also cause heart failure and death if it is not treated.[66] Graves' disease had a high mortality rate before a treatment was developed.[67]

Those affected by hyperthyroidism are typically jittery and are quite irritable, and can become "hyperactive when exposed to both physical and emotional stimuli."[68] They suffer from insomnia, and have dreams and nightmares, which can add to the feeling of tiredness that comes with the disease.[69] In some cases this can lead to the type of psychosis suggested by Hazzard.[70] Turner commented in relation to Philadelphus' dismissal of Cleon (*Pros. Ptol.* 534), the Senior Engineer for Irrigation Works (*P.Petrie* III 42 H6), that the "king's scorn sometimes blazed out in public humiliation."[71] But while sacking bureaucrats could be a sign that he was irritable, such actions may be nothing more than an expression of Philadelphus' autocratic nature, so a diagnosis of hyperthyroidism seems unwarranted on the basis of coin portraiture and anecdotes that cast Philadelphus in an unfavourable light. Grmek also notes that while the very noticeable exophthalmic goitre "must have occurred

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of Hyperthyroidism and Hypothyroidism," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 160.8 (2000) 1067.

[65] Schilling, *ibid.* 746.

[66] *Ibid.* 746.

[67] "Graves' Disease," *The American Thyroid Association* (1996) http://www.thyroid.org/patient/brochur3. htm (3 March 2000).

[68] Schilling, *op.cit.* (above, n. 60) 78.

[69] *Ibid.* 83.

[70] See Hazzard, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 42-3. Schilling, *ibid.* 83, discusses the effect of hyperthyroidism on the nervous system, and points out that "severe cognitive impairment and frank psychosis are rare."

[71] E.G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt," in F.W. Walbank et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*.VII.1: *The Hellenistic World* (Cambridge 1984^2) 140.

sporadically" in the Greek world, the medical writers are silent on the subject, which indicates that it was rare.[72]

The case made for Philadelphus being "sickly" because he did not lead his armies on any campaigns, and spent the majority of his time in Alexandria, which had a milder climate than the rest of Egypt,[73] is not at all strong. In an age when the use of mercenary troops was normal it was a logical step to let an experienced general, such as Patroclus (*Pros. Ptol.* 15063), take command, and so Philadelphus' reluctance to do so does not seem quite so extraordinary, especially given that Philadelphus is considered to have been intelligent. Although Philadelphus did not participate in military campaigns, he was industrious in his administration of the Ptolemaic empire. This is attested by documents such as *P.Hib.* I 110 verso, which contains 8 days of entries from a royal postal station, and records a number of letters to and from Philadelphus.[74]

The King's travels are not well documented, but it is known that he took part in at least one activity, elephant hunting, that re-

[72] Grmek, *op.cit.* (above, n. 14) 12-3. However, this is not to say that Philadelphus could not have had thyroid problems, since hypothyroidism, a condition in which the thyroid gland is underactive, can be linked with gout, as well as pseudogout, as previously noted. A.R. Erickson, R.J. Enzenauer, D.M. Nordstrom and J.A. Merenich, "The Prevalence of Hypothyroidism in Gout," *American Journal of Medicine* 97.3 (1994) 231-4, suggest that screening for hypothyroidism should be considered for all patients presenting with gout. But protruding eyes are not a symptom of hypothyroidism. For a general discussion of this condition see M. Haggerty, "Hypothyroidism," *Gale Encyclopedia of Medicine*, Edition 1 (1999) 1555 (http://web5.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/ infomark/865/406/65140308 w3/purl=rc1_HRCA_0_A54824704&dyn=6!xrn_18_0_A54824704?sw_aep=uq [3 March 2000]).

[73] Strabo (17.1.7 (C 793)) reports that, "at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake (Mareotis) also, and leaves no marshy matter to corrupt the rising vapours. At that time, also, the Etesian winds blow from the north and from a vast sea, so that the Alexandrians pass their time pleasantly in summer" (trans. H.L. Jones).

[74] That Philadelphus kept a close eye on the administration can also be seen in *C.Ord.Ptol.* 24, in which he personally issued orders in relation to a problem regarding stathmoi.

quired stamina.[75] The Adoulis Inscription (*OGIS* 54 = Bagnall and Derow no. 26) of Ptolemy III Euergetes relates to the Third Syrian War, and reveals that he:

> ... led a campaign into Asia with infantry and cavalry and fleet and Trogodytic and Aithiopian elephants, which he and his father (i.e. Philadelphus) were the first to hunt from these lands and, bringing them back into Egypt, to fit out for our military service.

Travel to the elephant hunting grounds in Upper Nubia could be accomplished via the Nile route or via the Red Sea, which was the favoured means of transportation for the elephants hunters. Philadelphus began the hunt for African elephants early in his reign to replace the Indian elephants of his father's elephant corps, since they were aging and the Ptolemies were cut off from the land route to India by the Seleucid empire. He poured a vast amount of resources into this venture, including the dredging of the canal that connected the Nile to the Red Sea.[76] He visited Pithom to inspect the canal and the defences (*I.Cairo* 22183), and no doubt sailed to the elephant hunting grounds with Euergetes this way. He could have done this prior to the onset of any infirmity, but the sudden visit he made to the Fayum in 253 in relation to cleruchic grants made as negotiations were under way to end the Second Syrian War (*PSI* IV 354),[77] shows that even late in his reign he was able to travel away from Alexandria.[78]

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[75] Hunting elephants could be a drawn out process, in which he would have spent a good deal of time on horseback, as it involved locating them in inhospitable territory, after which they were lured into enclosures using tame elephants. For a detailed discussion of this process see H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek World* (London 1974), 58-9; and L. Casson, "Ptolemy II and the Hunting of African Elephants," *TAPA* 123 (1993) 249-50.

[76] Casson, *ibid.* 247-60.

[77] He also travelled to Pelusium in 252, when he escorted his daughter Berenice part of the way to be married to Antiochus II Theos (Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F43 = Jerome *In Dan.* 11.6a).

[78] See W. Clarysse, "A Royal Visit to Memphis and the End of the Second Syrian War," in D.J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur and W. Clarysse (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis.* Studia Hellenistica 24 (Louvain 1980), 83-9. This visit was his first recorded to the Fayum, an area in which he took an interest due to the concentration of Greek and Macedonian settlers there, and the agricultural ex-

Interestingly, Philadelphus was 40, approximately the age at which gout is likely to strike, when he made Ptolemy "the Son" his co-regent in 268/7 (*P.Sorb.* inv. 2440). However, he did not appoint his eventual heir Euergetes his co-regent after Ptolemy "the Son's" fall from grace in 259, which suggests that he was healthy enough to rule the Ptolemaic empire without assistance. During episodes of gout Philadelphus was no doubt incapacitated, but this was for limited periods of time. Philadelphus may have contributed to his own suffering, by being overweight and drinking excessively, but he may also have found relief in the form of "Erasistratus' remedy." Therefore, it seems worthwhile quoting the redoubtable W.W. Tarn who observed of Philadelphus that:

> When one considers his long reign and manifold activities, one wonders whether the allusions to his weak health are not merely another Greek legend, invented to explain the fact that he was the only king of Macedonian blood who never took the field in person; he had no talent for war.[79]

That Tarn's insight has not been followed up by modern scholars is unfortunate, and hopefully the above discussion will go some way towards a reassessment of the view that Ptolemy II Philadelphus suffered from poor health, apart from his painful gout, since there is little evidence that he did.

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periments undertaken by the dioiketes Apollonius on his *dorea* (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155). Pliny the Elder (*NH* 5.57) says that the kings of Egypt did not travel on the Nile when it was rising (from the end of June to the end of August) for religious reasons, so in the opinion of Clarysse his presence there was surprising (p. 86). For a discussion of the Pliny passage see D. Bonneau, "Le Souverain d'Égypte voyageait-il sur le Nil en crue?", *Cd'É* 36 (1961) 377-85.

79 W.W. Tarn, "Ptolemy II," *JEA* 14 (1928) 247.

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BOOK REVIEWS

TEETER, TIMOTHY M. *Columbia Papyri XI*. Atlanta: Scholars Press; 1998. *American Studies in Papyrology* 38. 96 pages + [9] plates. ISBN: 0-7885-0433-9. $34.95.

This volume is a substantial revision of the author's Ph.D. dissertation under Roger S. Bagnall (*Ten Christian Papyri in the Columbia Collection*. Columbia University, 1989), plus an additional manuscript that did not appear in the dissertation.

The papyri are now numbered as *P.Col.* XI 293-303 and are divided into two groups:

(1) *Literary/Liturgical Texts*: **#293** Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12 (V A.D.); **#294** Prayer and Portion of LXX Ps. 150 (IV A.D.); **#295** Fragment of a Homily? (III/IV A.D.); **#296** Byzantine Hymn (VI A.D.), and

(2) *Documentary Texts*: **#297** List Relating to Axles (V/VI A.D. Oxyrhynchite nome); **#298** Christian Letter (III/IV A.D.); **#299** Christian Letter (IV A.D.); **#300** Christian Letter (IV A.D.); **#301** Christian Letter (IV/V A.D.); **#302** Letter Concerning a Bishop (VI A.D.); **#303** Order for Payment (515 A.D.).

T(eeter) reviews the standard editorial conventions employed (the "Leiden" system) with bibliography. The eleven studies are followed by a general bibliography, indices, and a concordance of the three numbering systems for the manuscripts: (1) the Columbia inventory, (2) the present book, and (3) Teeter's dissertation. The eleven plates bear the P.Col. numbers (photos for **#293** and **#295** could be larger to increase readability). The provenance is known only for **#297** and **#303**, and a specific date only for the latter, as noted below.

#293, is a fragment of a fifth-century vellum codex leaf containing Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12. Regarding codicology, Teeter notes that the "circumstances of its separation from the codex are mysterious" and suggests that "if it was torn out to be kept as a charm or used for recitation, whoever did so was careless and lost the last portion

of the prayer" (p. 3). He does not mention the more likely probability that it is a random fragment of a damaged book, perhaps a deliberately destroyed book. This would better explain why the text of the prayer is incomplete. His suggestion of a deliberate reuse of the prayer by tearing or cutting it out for amuletic or recitational use supposes the destruction of a quality vellum codex simply for the reuse of a portion of one page, which is then so carelessly excised that the complete target text is not fully acquired. The vast majority (probably all) of known Greek and Coptic amulets with gospel texts have their texts copied onto them from an exemplar, or are written from memory. The discussion of "toy books" (i.e., miniatures) in footnote 1 needs further elaboration to make it relevant to this particular manuscript.

Of more interest is T.'s discussion of the scribe's four vacant spaces in recto lines 2 and 12,[1] and verso line 1. He notes that the scribe separates logical sections with empty spaces instead of lectionary signs. I would add the observation that the Greek phrases immediately following each of the vacant spaces are similar and because of this are important for the scribe who thus draws attention to them. The first two address the reader with prayer instructions in subjunctive phrases, the third draws an inference: (1) recto line 3: [κα]ὶ [ὅταν] π̣ροϲεύχηϲθε, (2) recto lines 12b-13a: ϲὺ δὲ ὅταν προϲ[ε]ύχῃ, (3) verso lines 2-3a: οὕ[τ]ωϲ οὖν προϲεύχ[εϲθε] ὑμεῖϲ. Since the scribe is consciously drawing attention to logical divisions within the text, and since this section of text is constructed in the same manner as the lost preceding section (Matt. 6:1-4a), I would suggest at least the possibility that the scribe also employed the empty spaces in the lost preceding section, thus preceding ὅταν οὖν (6:2a) and ϲοῦ δέ (6:3) with empty spaces.

The abbreviation, or contraction, ανοιϲ for ἀνθρώποιϲ in recto line 9 also deserves further discussion. T. treats the abbreviation as a *nomen sacrum*, but this interpretation is undermined by his later comment "it seems odd that the scribe would abbreviate a profane use of ἄνθρωποϲ while neglecting to abbreviate a sacred πατήρ and οὐρανόϲ". If it is a profane word, then it is not a *nomen sacrum*, and is thus abbreviated for a practical purpose. I suggest that the prac-

[1] The identification of line 12 as "line 11" (p. 4, bottom) is incorrect.

tical purpose is related to this scribe's demonstrated tendency to draw attention to logical divisions within the text without lectionary signs. Apparently, the scribe wanted to start recto line 10 with the annunciative dominical phrase ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν and did not want to precede it in the same line with a non-word, a latter portion of the profane word ἀνθρώποις. He could have written out the entire word ἀνθρώποις, dividing it between recto lines 9b and 10a, with the negative result that most of line 10 would be blank, before beginning line 11 with the introductory dominical phrase. The scribe's solution was an abbreviation of the profane word ἀνθρώποις as αν. In the lost preceding section, the scribe possibly also abbreviated ἀνθρώπων as αν (or ανων)[2] before the annunciative dominical phrase ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν (6:2c) which may also have been given initial position in its line, as discussed above for recto line 10.

The letters οις are most probably correctly identified by T. as a secondary addition by a later corrector (possibly the same scribe) writing with darker ink, who expands the radical abbreviation in order to make it more understandable to the reader. T.'s suggestion that the scribe "simply forgot to write θρωποις at the beginning of the next line" (p. 6) seems unlikely, considering the scribe's overall quality work (evidenced by a general absence of copyist errors and his care to design his columns using vacant spaces to draw the reader's attention to sense units). The striking issue here is the form of the radical abbreviation from ἀνθρώποις to αν, and a later corrector's attempt to make it more understandable to the reader by expanding it without extending too far into the right margin.

T. describes as "a mystery" the unusual placement of αὐτόν as a single word placed in the middle of verso line 1, rather than at the column's left margin. But I would suggest that the scribe appears, in this case, to center the word in the line to produce a more visually balanced column, especially if the line is the top line of its column, and, perhaps, as a visual cue to the logical break at this point preceding the famous prayer's inferential introduction in verso lines 2-3a. This scribal device of centering a single word in a line as a

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[2] See T.'s discussion of the abbreviation ανων for ἀνθρώπων in **#295** recto line 8 (p. 19).

visual text separator, and also to separate sense units, is well-known and is anything but a mystery.[3]

#294 is dated by T. to the fourth century who identifies the texts as a prayer (verso) and a fragment of Ps. 150:3b-6 (recto). Regarding codicology, T. does not raise the issue whether we have here a fragmentary leaf from a codex of the psalms (or a private prayer book), with this psalm perhaps inscribed on the final leaf (recto) in the book, that is, on a right-hand page, with its backside, a left-hand page, being originally blank and later used to record an extra liturgical text like the prayer (verso). Both texts could be written on a loose leaf papyrus sheet rather than a codex leaf. T.'s suggestion that the psalm text was written first, then the papyrus was presumably damaged and this remaining damaged fragment was secondarily reused on its blank backside for the prayer, cannot be verified. Both texts could have been written at about the same time by the same scribe, and the papyrus, whether a codex leaf or a loose leaf, could then have deteriorated into its current state.

The present reviewer cannot agree with T.'s far-ranging statement, "since the document was apparently saved for the sake of the text on the verso, such folds imply its use as an amulet" (p. 8). Attempting to identify the immediate social context for any manuscript, especially a fragment, is a very subjective endeavor fraught with difficulties. At the very least, we appear to have here, as with the preceding manuscript (**#293**), a randomly deteriorated fragment from a book or a loose leaf, and not necessarily a portion of a leaf which had a later function as an amulet. The folds to which T. refers do not give any clear indication of amuletic use, but rather simply indicate that the papyrus was folded, possibly accidentally, sometime during its process of deterioration. T.'s suggestion that the secondary use of the fragment was amuletic is certainly possible, though not obvious, as Christian amulets often contain prayers.

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[3] For a few random examples, in both documentary and literary hands, of single words centered in lines and of vacant spaces employed to separate sense units, see *P.Col.* VIII 209 (ll. 2-3 and 45), 211 (l. 2); *P.Col.* X 252 (ll. 2 and 25-7); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4502 (l. 38); *P.Kell.Copt.* 35 (l. 2/22); Codex Sinaiticus (page 79, *passim*).

But if it is a liturgical text, that is, if its function was instead in (monastic?) worship, rather than amuletic ritual, then it could simply be a leaf from a book or a single loose leaf containing religious texts for personal use. This is further suggested by T.'s observations of the text's "alliterative-repetitive quality on both sides" (p. 10). Also, the verso text of the prayer shows the scribe "did not fully understand the meaning of all the words he wrote" (p. 9), and that "the semi-literate character of the document (phonetic spelling, etc.)" demonstrates that he "was probably using some expression he had overheard" (p. 15). T. further demonstrates the probable oral context with his insightful observations on the phonetic nature of the language of the prayer (p. 10), indicating a local tradition within an oral liturgical context where texts are written when they are heard or remembered. Likewise, the recto text of the psalm shows it "could not have been copied, given the misspellings; it must have been produced from memory" (p. 11), indicating the probable oral/aural nature of the psalm text, that is, it does not appear to reflect an established biblical-textual tradition. T. rightly notes that the scribe is "unpractised and sloppy ... he also knew some biblical phrases and the kind of language likely *to be heard* in a liturgy" (p. 9, emphasis mine), so I would add that the scribe is probably active in the congregant's pew, where he writes what he hears (or, in his cell, where he writes what he remembers), rather than in the scriptorium, where he copies what he sees.

#295 is a probable baptismal homily fragment of the third or fourth century with references to Genesis 6 (recto) and John 2 (verso). An odd feature of this manuscript is that the "text on each side runs in the opposite direction to the other, i.e., one side reads upside down in respect to the other" (p. 18). He goes on to note that since the non-literary hand "is the same on both sides, this suggests that the piece was short enough to require only a single page" (p. 18), but rather than "page" one would expect the more exact term "codex leaf" (= two pages). Perhaps an even more useful term would be "loose leaf" (= two sides) not bound in a book, thus accounting for the two sides written upside down in respect to each other. This latter possibility raises the question of whether we have here a crude

copy, or even a preacher's homiletic notes (autograph?) on a single loose leaf.[4]

#296 consists of two fragments of an otherwise unknown Byzantine hymn, and is thoroughly discussed by T. with convincing reconstructions and reference to relevant bibliography. The fragmentary hymn appears to be a full strophe followed by the initial line of another. It is apparently related to the Lenten troparia which were morning and evening prayer hymns composed of just a few strophes. They were independently related to the biblical canticles, in this case, the seventh canticle referring to Daniel 3:26-45, 52-6.

#297 is a list relating to axles from the Oxyrhynchite nome, sometime in the fifth to sixth centuries. T.'s discussion is thorough and provides the reader with a learned introductory survey of the issues related to axles in Byzantine Egypt, and the various types of documents related to them. He suggests the list is an inventory of axles received by an estate (similar to *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3960, a wine inventory of the Apion estates from 621 A.D.). The presence in this text of a water-wheel named Ματρῖνοc indicates that this manuscript is possibly related to the archives of the Apion estates, where a water-wheel had the same name. He then concludes with a thorough discussion of the titles mentioned in the list: πραγματευτήc ("business representative" or "trader"), γεωργόc ("farmer", an estate tenant, possibly a *colonus adscripticius*), διάκονοc ("deacon", possibly also a *colonus adscripticius*), and μονάζων ("monk", possibly also a *colonus adscripticius*; cf. μονάζο̣ν[τοc]).

#298 is a Christian letter of the third or fourth century. The letter is apparently of the genre ἐπιcτολαὶ εἰρηνικαί, which were "short, stereotyped letters ... intended to provide their humble lay bearer with material support while traveling" (p. 39). This genre is especially evident in recto lines 14-7 with the request, using the standard δέχομαι–compound, to receive the unnamed catechumen and the final greeting using προcαγορεύcατε. The massive lacunae have resulted in a fragmentary letter of indeterminable specific

[4] For a potentially similar case, but on a recycled piece of papyrus containing a much older text, see J. Dillery and T. Gagos, "P. Mich. Inv. 4922: Xenophon and an Unknown Christian Text with an Appendix of all Xenophon Papyri," *ZPE* 93 (1992) 171-90.

purpose. T.'s thorough comparative analysis and bibliography provide an excellent introduction to such commendational letters of peace. One of his comparative examples is *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2603, but he makes no reference to recent suggestions that the letter, first edited by Harrop in 1962, may be Manichaean.[5]

#299 is another Christian letter, possibly of the fourth century, written from a person of unknown rank to a woman, concerning a tunic with trimming (παραγαύτιον), suggesting for T. a middle class or "well-to-do milieu" (p. 48). A third person, a μοναχός, referred to by the writer in relation to the tunic, is the principal interest of the editor, who provides an instructive detailed history of the term μοναχός in documentary texts, with bibliography. He concludes that the monk is probably one of the independent local community monks, one of the ἀποτακτικοί referred to by Jerome as *remnuoth*, and with some disdain (*Epist.* 22:34).

#300 is a badly damaged Christian letter of the fourth century with the text "written across the fibers on both recto and verso; thus 'recto' here designates only the side with an address at the beginning" (p. 54). T. is not certain whether there are one or two separate documents, but only the recto begins in the usual manner with an address, suggesting there is one. He notes that the spelling is phonetic and that there is an unusual exchange of sigma for delta

[5] J.H. Harrop, "A Christian Letter of Commendation," *JEA* 48 (1962) 133-40. Although Harrop's letter had been discussed by Manichaean researchers for several years, studies in print mostly appeared too late for T. to be aware of the theory. In an e-mail response dated 2 July 00, Iain Gardner informs me that he first heard of the possible Manichaean nature of Harrop's letter in a written communication from Klaas Worp in early 1993, "consequent to discussions we had had in Dakhleh at the beginning of the year when I first identified Kellis personal letters as Manichaean". The present reviewer heard Gardner's announcement a few months later at the 1993 Manichaeism conference in Calabria, Italy. Gardner also notes that he had later learned that "Sam Lieu had independently reached the same conclusion—this probably some months earlier in 1992 (but published of course later than the Calabria announcement)." Both scholars published their findings at later dates, see S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (Leiden 1994) 98 n. 316; and I. Gardner, "Personal Letters from the Manichaean Community at Kellis," in L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo (eds.), *Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico* (Louvain 1997) 77-94, esp. 87; see also I. Gardner, "The Manichaean Community at Kellis: A Progress Report," in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (eds.), *Emerging from Darkness* (Leiden 1997) 167-9.

three times. The text of recto line 10 includes ϑεῷ with supralinear stroke, a rare uncontracted *nomen sacrum*. This is an admirable job by the editor on a difficult text.

#301 is another fragmentary Christian letter of the fourth or fifth century which is thoroughly discussed by T., who identifies it as a letter apparently filled with formulas and clichés. He dates the hand, which has no Byzantine characteristics, to the fourth or fifth century, and presents evidence that the writer's Egyptian name, "Psenamounios" (an otherwise unknown ἐπίcκοπος), is best dated to before 350 (he finds only one occurrence as late as the sixth century). T. discusses the text according to several known letters in the subgenre "request for monastic prayer," noting this is instead a letter stating that the bishop himself does not cease to remember (i.e., to pray for) the unknown recipient. His reconstruction of the first damaged word in recto line 12 ὁ [Θ(εό)]c can also be read as ὁ [K(ύ)ρ(ιο)]c which would indicate for this phrase a biblical model in the genitive phrases of Rev. 11:15 (ἐγένετο ἡ βαcιλεία τοῦ κόcμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριcτοῦ αὐτοῦ) and possibly indicate the deliberate use of two similar *nomina sacra* with supralinear strokes in close proximity: $\overline{\text{κρc}}$ and $\overline{\text{χρc}}$.[6]

#302 is a sixth century letter in an irregular hand concerning an unknown traveling bishop. The author does not directly refer to himself. He was apparently sent to Alexandria after a bishop but failed to reach him, as the bishop had already left for Pelusium. The central concern is some sort of cooperative interaction between the higher civil and ecclesiastical authorities. After discussing the wide ranging duties of bishops in this period, as well as the two terms μεγαλοπρέπεια and μέγεϑοc, T. examines the two most likely contexts for understanding the letter, both in reference to Justinian: (1) payment of the military *annona* together with the civic archon (*CJ* I.4.18) or (2) the annual auditing of civic books by ecclesiastical

[6] On the rare contracted *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\text{κρc}}$, known from only two manuscripts, one of them Manichaean (*CMC* 18.11), see C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Oxford, 1979) 35 n. 1. But compare T. Gagos, "A Brief Note on the *Nomen Sacrum* Κύριοc in the *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*," *ZPE* 77 (1989) 273-4 who, after surveying the entire *CMC*, concludes that there is no intentional distinction in the use of $\overline{\text{κρc}}$ and $\overline{\text{κc}}$ (in all the inflected forms) by the copyist of the *CMC*.

and civic officials, so as to check for dishonest financial administrators who would be removed from office (*Nov.* 128.16).

#303, the last text of the volume, is an order for payment of oil to be delivered to a monastery. Such are common in the sixth century and are formulaic. There are two hands. Of interest is the interpretation of the very damaged and abbreviated ἐπο̣[ι]κ(ίου) in line 2 (is it a farmstead, a building complex, a full village, part of a monastery?). The letter is from a certain Μακρόβιοϲ λαμπρότατοϲ, of whom T. says he "may very well be the same Makrobios, also λαμπρότατοϲ, of *P.Oxy.* XVI 2003". The text is dated to 2 September 515.

T.'s excellent papyrological study has one recurring problem. Although the author has proven himself to be a master editor of ancient Greek texts, his own book reads like a penultimate copy that should have been reviewed by a final copy editor. Although the errors are only minor, the resulting cumulative effect is constant distraction for the reader. I will not provide a comprehensive list, but only a few examples of each type; some recur throughout.

(1) *extra hyphens:*

p. 11 "subse-quently"; p. 25 "centi-meters"; p. 38 "re-published".

(2) *extra characters:*

p. 26 n. 42 read "Vatican" for "Vactican".

(3) *extra blank character spaces:*

pp. 26-9 *passim*: read, for example, "Dan. 3:52-56" for "Dan. 3: 52-56".

p. 40 n. 68: read "*P.Oxy.*" for "*P. Oxy.*".

(4) *missing blank character spaces:*

p. 19 line 17: add space after "is" in "is*P.Oxy.*"; p. 48 n. 79 add space after "Docs" in "*Docs*1976".

(5) *missing characters:*

p. 35 n. 56 in reference to M. Mirkovic's book, read "Philadelphia" for "Philadephi".

p. 80 in full title of Koskenniemi book, read "und" for "nd".

(6) *missing words:*

p. 5 add "*vacat*" in transcription in empty space of recto line 2.

p. 24 in notes for verso line 6, add "like" after "something".

(7) *use of "etc." in a manner which communicates nothing:*

p. 15 line 32; p. 19 line 4; p. 58 fourth line from bottom.

(8) *inconsistent style of citing page numbers:*

p. 21 n. 29: "159-161"; p. 21 n. 32: "122-3"; p. 41 n. 69: "133-40".

(9) *inconsistent style in citing dates:*

p. 62 n. 91 "fourth century"; n. 92 "4th century".

(10) *inconsistent style in referring to papyrus reference numbers:*

For Oxyrhynchus papyri: p. 40 n. 68; p. 41 last six lines (no volume numbers).

For Berlin papyri: p. 26 "P.Berol. Inv.", elsewhere "P.Berol. inv.".

(11) *inconsistent style and abbreviations for titles of Bible texts:*

p. 8 inexplicable unique style of not including punctuation (full colon) between chapter and verse, thus "Ps. 150 3b-6".

p. 24 abbreviations in notes for verso line 7; cf. p. 26 line 13 and p. 27 lines 12-3.

(12) *inconsistent style in referring to photographic plates:*

p. 28 n. 47 "plate", occasionally elsewhere "pl".

(13) *inconsistent use of initial capital letters:*

p. 22: "the Flood" and "the flood"; p. 28 "Canticles" and "canticles"; p. 49 n. 84: read "Coptic" for "coptic".

(14) *inconsistent use of italics font:*

p. 30 "nomen sacrum" occasionally elsewhere italicized.

(15) *word choice:*

p. 18 line 12 read "leaf" for "page".

p. 25 n. 38 read "manuscript" for "text".

(16) *punctuation:*

p. 4 lines 1-3: "cm" and "cm.".

p. 21 n. 29 read "et al." for "et. al.".

p. 35 line 10, remove second comma.

p. 73 in the translation, since a question is initiated in line two of the Greek text, a question mark is needed somewhere in the translation, probably within the dots after the word "others". Note: the question mark in parentheses after "grace" properly questions the translation and is not the lacking question mark. It is doubtful that the mark should come at the end of the translation, after "greatness".

(17) *dittography:*

p. 40 n. 6 "or or".

(18) *no agreement in singular and plural:*

p. 41 line 8 read "shows" for "show".

p. 66 line 21 read "is" for "are".

(19) *incorrect page numbers and other references:*

p. 4 line 28 read "line 12" for "line 11".

p. 27 n. 45 "xxx-xxi".

p. 61 n. 88 read "See note 74" for "See note 71".

(20) *Greek diacriticals:*

p. 10 line 26 add diacriticals· Ἀβραὰμ ... Ἰσαὰκ ... Ἰακώβ.

p. 36 line 24 read μοναχός for μόναχος.

p. 38 discussion of line 3, in the quote from *P.Oxy.* XIX 2244.89-90 read Ἰωσὴφ for Ἰωσηφ, read ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Τακόνα for ἀπὸ κώμ(ης), and read Θὼθ for Θωθ.

p. 40 transcript of *P.Oxy.* LVI 3857 line 8, read εἰρήνῃ for εἰρηνῃ, and line 14, read κυρίῳ for κυρί".

p. 43 recto line 9 read ὑμ[ε]ῖν̣ for υμ[ε]ῖν̣

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BAGNALL, ROGER S., B.W. FRIER, and I.C. RUTHERFORD, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth; 1997. Papyrologica Bruxellensia 29. viii + 150 pages + 14 plates + 2 loose folding charts. 1.100 BEF

A century ago, when Grenfell and Hunt published as *P.Oxy.* V 841 what is still the most important source for Pindar's *Paeans*, they had little time for the documentary records on the recto of this literary text. Their cursory treatment of the census register, described but not published as *P.Oxy.* VI 984, effectively ensured that its true scope and value would remain unknown until Ian Rutherford, revisiting the Pindar text on the verso, brought it to the attention of Roger Bagnall, who had by then long toured the globe hunting down raw material for his and Bruce Frier's joint study of *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994; henceforth *DRE*). The present publication is the felicitous result of the cooperation of these three renowned scholars.

In the first two chapters, Rutherford discusses the physical arrangement of the two texts, suggesting ways in which either of them can be of help in reconstructing the other. The census data on the recto hold considerable promise. Enumerating the members of 63 households, the format of these records resembles that of actual census returns in providing name, filiation, place of residence, status, age and sometimes further specifics. According to Bagnall, this list was based on the census of 89/90 A.D. and compiled two years later. Its provenance remains uncertain: though discovered at Oxyrhynchus, it appears to originate from either Ptolemais (pp. 22-6) or Lykopolis (p. 56).[1] Unlike the census records previously analysed by Bagnall and Frier, most of which were produced in Middle

[1] O. Montevecchi, "Gli ἀπὸ γυμναcίου di Λύκων πόλιc," in S. Russo (ed.), *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia* (Florence 2000) 175-84, now makes a strong argument based on onomastics for a Lykopolite origin for *P.Oxy.* 984.

Egyptian cities and villages in the second and early third centuries A.D., the material preserved in *P.Oxy.* 984 was gathered in a single city in Upper Egypt in the late first century A.D. This register therefore significantly widens the geographical and chronological range of the available census data.

The core of the book is made up of an edition of the text with commentary (but without translation) (ch. 4, pp. 27-56) and a catalogue of the members of all 63 households in the uniform format adopted in *DRE* (ch. 5, pp. 57-88). In the final chapter, likewise prepared by Bagnall (ch. 7, pp. 114-24), a survey of the attested personal names lends support to the assumption that the register was compiled in Upper Egypt. Native Egyptian names dominate the record.

Above all, this material contributes to our knowledge of demographic conditions. In this, its value for more general reconstructions of Roman Egyptian population history is the pivotal issue: to what extent can these data be shown to match the predominantly Middle Egyptian census returns studied in *DRE*, and thus reinforce Bagnall and Frier's previous conclusions? Frier tackles this question in the sixth chapter (pp. 89-113). On the one hand, the 256 residents of 63 households reported in *P.Oxy.* 984 increase the number of known Egyptian households and their inhabitants by almost a quarter. At the same time, and notwithstanding various broad similarities between the more numerous records utilized in *DRE* and these new data, Frier is compelled to conclude that the latter are "far less reliable as a sample of the population of Roman Egypt" (p. 89). Age-rounding is more frequent than in the more precise northern records, and only male declarants aged 14 to 60 appear in the register, while older men and all female heads of households were omitted. Perhaps more important, the age distribution of the recorded population is inconsistent with standard model life tables: too many young adults (aged 15 to 29) are listed alongside too few younger and more mature individuals (aged under 15 and over 30). Despite the small size of the sample, this discrepancy is statistically significant.

On this occasion, constraints of space permit only four brief observations, on slave ownership, mortality, the sex ratio, and marriage. Whereas the composition of the households of Ptolemais or Lykopolis (for the origin of the papyrus, see above) resembles that documented for the urban centres of Middle Egypt, the prominence of conjugal families (representing two-thirds of the total) and the shortage of slaves and lodgers in the new register makes the average southern household appear smaller than in Arsinoe or Oxyrhynchus. Frier reasonably speculates that because of this, *P.Oxy.* 984 may reflect a less affluent urban environment (p. 112). Indeed, slaves account for not more than 7 per cent of the sample, compared to 8.4 per cent in the villages and 14.7 per cent in the *metropoleis* of Middle Egypt (p. 98). Scholars have repeatedly taken a share of slaves in the overall population of 10 or 11 per cent —as attested for Middle Egypt—as roughly representative of Roman Egypt (outside Alexandria) as a whole. However, if the new census material more faithfully reflects the extent of slave ownership outside the most heavily Hellenised parts of the province, the actual mean may well have been significantly lower, especially if we assume that slaves were even less common in the villages of Upper Egypt than in Ptolemais or Lykopolis.[2]

Taken at face value, the age distribution that can be reconstructed from the attested ages implies unusually high rates of mortality (or other sources of attrition, such as emigration) from age 20 onwards relative to standard model life tables and the ag-

[2] The average share of slaves in the population of northern villages is 43 per cent smaller than the average share of slaves in the metropolitan population of Middle Egypt. If we apply the same ratio to Upper Egypt, 7 per cent of the urban and only 4 per cent of the village population consisted of slaves. If one-quarter of the population of Roman Egypt resided in cities, 10 per cent of the population of Middle Egypt and 4.8 per cent of the population of Upper Egypt were slaves. This suggests that the overall mean may have been of the order of 7 per cent, or in any event much lower than indicated by the Middle Egyptian evidence, casting doubt on claims that other provinces—where slave ownership was supposedly more widespread—must have been characterised by rates in excess of 10 per cent (i.e., the conventional estimate for Roman Egypt): e.g., W.V. Harris, *JRS* 89 (1999) 64-5, who does not consider *P.Oxy.* 984.

gregate (i.e., urban/rural) age distribution supported by the Middle Egyptian census returns in *DRE* (p. 102, fig. 6.1). However, Frier's comparison between the urban data in the new register and the census data in *DRE*, more than half of which come from villages, fails to compare like with like. In actual fact, the adult age profile generated by the *urban* census returns used in *DRE* bears a strong resemblance to the age distribution in *P.Oxy.* 984. Hence, the same attrition factors may have been at work in both environments, including mortality, fertility, migration, and under-registration. In a new study, I argue that urban excess mortality was probably the main force behind these observed distortions of metropolitan age distributions.[3]

Frier notes that the sex ratio in Ptolemais or Lykopolis is even higher (i.e., biased in favour of men) than in the cities of Middle Egypt, 148.3 compared to 120.8 from age 15 onwards, and in both cases attributes these imbalances to the immigration of unattached young men from the countryside (pp. 103-4). However, the age-specific sex ratio in Ptolemais or Lykopolis is exactly the opposite of the Middle Egyptian pattern: in the former location, the sex ratio is balanced for children (100 from ages 0 to 14) and mature adults (75 from age 30 onwards) but extremely high for young adults (230 for ages 15 to 29), whereas in the latter, it is high for children and mature adults (190 and 160, respectively) but normal for young adults (100). Although migration may well have somehow contributed to these swings, this striking inversion makes it hard to explain both patterns with reference to the same phenomenon.

The complete lack of safely attested brother-sister unions —common in the cities of Middle Egypt only a few generations later—catches the eye. As I argued in *BASP* 32 (1995) 153-5, it was not previously possible to establish, on the basis of the Middle Egyptian records alone, that sibling marriage had been significantly more frequent in the Fayum than in southern Egypt. *P.Oxy.* 984 now provides the missing data.

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[3] W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*. Mnemosyne Suppl. 228 (Leiden 2001) ch. 2.

All in all, despite its various deficiencies, the census register *P.Oxy.* 984 is a most welcome addition to the corpus of demographic data so skilfully exploited in *DRE*. Expanding our horizon beyond the northern half of Roman Egypt, this new material reveals important structural similarities as well as previously undocumented variations between different regions of the province.

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RUSSO, SIMONA, *I gioielli nei papiri di età greco-romana*. Firenze: Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli;" 1999. viii + 345 pages + 8 color plates.

This study presents all words that denote personal ornaments (*gioielli*) in the papyri from Greek, Roman and Byzantine Egypt. For each term the author, Simona Russo, gives the etymology (if known), the papyrological attestations, and some general remarks regarding these terms. The author has not simply copied the indices of papyrus editions and the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP) to compile her lists, but has critically assessed each attestation by checking the original papyrus when necessary. In this way, she has been able to remove a number of "false" attestations from the record and to add new ones.

The book presents all there is to know lexicographically about personal ornaments in the Greek papyri from Egypt in four sections: 1) the ornaments themselves (pp. 5-235), by providing an overview of all Greek terms found in the papyri that denote an ornament (57 in all), organized according to the part of the body they ornate; 2) a brief section on general and uncertain terms (pp. 237-45); 3) the materials used in the production of the ornaments (pp. 247-67), such as metals, pearls, and precious stones; and 4) the sets of jewelry (*parures)* known from the papyri (pp. 269-74). An introduction, conclusions and several useful lists and indices complete the book. A few color plates of ornaments from Greek and Roman Egypt are given at the end of the book (both actual objects and mummy portraits) with a discussion of what can be seen on pages 341-5.

The Greek ornamental terminology found in the papyri from Egypt is surprisingly varied. The 196 texts identified by the author as mentioning one or more personal ornaments, yielded no less than fifty seven different terms. Many of these, unfortunately, occur only a few times in the papyri, and the attestations are not very informative about what precisely these objects are, other than a general sense of "an ornament somewhere on the arm." The terms that do occur frequently, however, are also not very informative, as

these tend to be the more generic terms: earring (ἐνώτιον), with seventy attestations; ring (δακτύλιος) with 47 attestations, and armlet (ψέλλιον), with 40 attestations. As in English these terms were most likely used for a variety of different types of ornament, the only common aspect being their position on the body. Notwithstanding the very fancy color plates, therefore, the person wishing to know what, say, a κλάνιον (bracelet) looked like, and to what extent it differed from a βραχιάλιον (bracelet), will not find the answer in this book.

It is doubtful whether hard identifications of certain types of ornaments with words occurring in the papyri can ever be made—except, of course, when we find a mummy portrait with accompanying text. What could have been worthwhile in the case of the present study, however, is to provide a more regionally based overview of both actual ornaments found during excavations and the terminology found in texts from that region. The author has noted some regional tendencies regarding terminology in her book (see for example pp. 132-3 for περιδέξιον, "armlet," which seemingly only occurs in the Oxyrhynchite and Arsinoite nomes), and possibly such a tendency could recur in the archaeological record of the same region. The field of jewelry in Greek and Roman Egypt may be one where archaeology and papyrology can (should?) work together closely.

The main strength of the present book lies in that it lists meticulously all elements that accompany the words denoting ornaments in the papyri: the material, the weight and the price. These elements inform us about the relative value of the item concerned, and thus can help us asses the socio-economic status of the owners of such items. The author touches upon this issue briefly in her conclusion, and indeed many further lines of research are possible with this book in hand. A possible new direction would be to study these ornaments by archive. For example, I noted that a number of texts mentioning personal ornaments come from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive (*P.Mich.* II and V). It should be possible to establish which ones we find in this archive and what their average value is. These data can then be added to what we already know about the people of early Roman Tebtunis as they occur in the documents. A similar set of related documents which allows such an approach are the

documents from an official archive in Alexandria as published in *BGU* IV, which also appear to contain several references to ornaments. By adopting this approach, it might be possible to establish differences between the use and the style of ornaments that occur in the city and those found in the *chora* of Egypt, and potentially some "fashion" trends.

In sum, the book is a jewel of papyrological scholarship and provides a wonderful tool for further study, both archaeological and papyrological.

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NICHOLSON, PAUL T. and IAN SHAW, editors. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000. xxii + 702 pages [numerous illustrations]. ISBN 0-521-45257-0. $160.00.

In the course of their work, papyrologists are constantly reminded of the materials used by the ancient Egyptians and the technologies by which they were made and altered. From the papyrus, pottery, wood and ink used as writing media to the commodities and industries mentioned in the texts themselves, the work of the papyrologist is pervaded by issues of materials—how they were made, processed and used. For many years, when confronted by questions about the materials of Egyptian artifacts and their manufacture, scholars have had recourse to the various versions of Alfred Lucas' authoritative study *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, most recently in the 1962 revision by J.R. Harris (currently available in reprint). Indeed, this reference has become so standard that it is often cited informally as "Lucas and Harris," the designation of an old friend. Lucas and Harris is a fascinating book full of useful information, presented in a discursive and accessible manner; idiosyncratic in many ways, but comprehensive and authoritative for its time. Over the years, however, our understanding of the complex subjects presented in Lucas and Harris has undergone substantial change—not only are there more accurate means of analysis available, but also the kinds of questions asked of the data have changed. It is hard to imagine a single volume that could rival, let alone replace, the familiar Lucas and Harris, but the present volume lays serious claim to this. In some 25 chapters by 34 authors, the editors have gathered together an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of ancient Egyptian materials and how they were produced and processed.

Readers of *BASP* are likely to turn first to the chapter "Papyrus" (pp. 227-53), and this does not disappoint. Co-authored by Bridget Leach and John Tait, the article provides a comprehensive survey of the subject—including information on the papyrus plant

and its properties, the manufacture of papyrus for writing, the construction of papyrus rolls, the media used on papyrus, the deterioration of papyrus and its conservation, with an extensive bibliography. This chapter includes perhaps the most complete technical examination of papyrus available in print and is essential reading for anyone who works directly with papyri. (Incidentally, the technical information presented in this chapter seems to confirm the position taken by Naphtali Lewis in a recent issue of *BASP* [36 (1999) 10-11] against the "needle" or "Hendricks" proposed method of papyrus manufacture [p. 231].) Other writing materials of interest to papyrologists are covered throughout the book: note particularly the sections on parchment (p. 303) and pigments (pp. 104-20, also the discussion of inks in the article on papyrus). It is very heartening for those of us especially interested in the study of ostraca to find a brief discussion of the reuse of pottery for ostraca (along with other Roman period recycling of pottery; p. 143).

Beyond the obvious reference to sections on writing materials, papyrologists are likely to find much of interest throughout this book. Although not entirely consistent in its coverage, many of the chapters survey or at least mention materials and technologies from the Graeco-Roman period, sometimes even later. Thus the chapters on "Stone" (pp. 5-77), "Soil (Including Mud-Brick Architecture" (pp. 78-103), "Metals" (pp. 148-76), "Egyptian Faience" (pp. 177-94), "Basketry" (pp. 254-67), "Leatherwork and Skin Products" (pp. 299-319, with a number of specific illustrations of Graeco-Roman period material), "Oil, Fat and Wax" (pp. 390-429), "Adhesives and Binders" (pp. 475-94) and the lively article on "Hair" (pp. 495-501) devote at least some attention to the later periods of Egyptian history and will be especially relevant to papyrologists. The chapters that make up the section "Food Technology" (pp. 505-671) go far beyond the brief discussions in Lucas and Harris, and comprise perhaps the best single source on the subject, of great use to papyrologists interested in food and how it was prepared.

As was true with Lucas and Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* is a browser's delight, a book that not only serves as a serious reference on specific points but also lends itself to casual, even random reading. One might miss the idiosyncratic digres-

sions of Alfred Lucas on, for example, artificial eyes in mummies (a topic that seems to have particularly fascinated him and for which Lucas and Harris is likely to remain the standard reference), but no one will miss the older volume's often cryptic and inadequate references or its lack of illustrations. The comprehensiveness of the present volume, its up-to-date scientific analyses and its extensive illustrations and bibliography are, in the end, more than an adequate trade for the antiquarian charms of the earlier work. This is not to say that the newer volume replaces the older; indeed, the editors of *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* encourage continued consultation of Lucas and Harris alongside their volume. The use of both books will give the user the benefits of an extensive body of knowledge, old and new.

Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology is an extraordinarily useful reference, one that no serious library on ancient Egypt should be without. This volume will be of special interest to those who work with artifacts in museums, archives, papyrus collections and archaeological digs, where the detailed technical information will be of great benefit in working directly with ancient materials. But the book should also be consulted by scholars working on any aspect of the material culture of ancient Egypt: they are sure to find something of interest and use in this substantial volume.

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ADDENDUM
T. Gagos and R.S. Bagnall (eds.), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas*. Am.Stud.Pap. 42 (2001).

Supplemental Indices[1]

D. DEMOTIC TEXTS

I. PERSONAL NAMES

f. = father of   s. = son of

Wrš(e) – s. Paachempashertehuty **18** 2
Pꜣ-ꜥẖm-pꜣ-šr-tḥwty – f. Wershe **18** 3

II. RELIGION

Wsjr **18** 1

III. GENERAL INDEX OF DEMOTIC WORDS

sꜣ, "son of" **18** 2

[1] Due to an oversight, the following three indices dropped out of the final production of the volume. The editors were not responsible for this error. We apologize for the inconvenience. (Traianos Gagos and Roger S. Bagnall)

E. COPTIC DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

I. CHRONOLOGY

a. INDICTIONS

II. MONTHS

III. PERSONAL NAMES

f.= father s.= son of

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

V. RELIGION

VI. GENERAL INDEX OF COPTIC WORDS

F. SUBJECT INDEX

Note: references are to pages of the contributions, both for Essays and for Texts.

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